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The Week

AS WE predicted during the campaign, the Democratic policy on emergency farm relief is heading strongly in the direction of the voluntary domestic-allotment plan. While Mr. Roosevelt in his conferences with farm leaders is technically maintaining an open mind toward all proposals, this is the only one which meets the qualifications for a sound plan which he set forth in his Kansas speech. There can be no doubt that in these conferences this fact is diplomatically being pointed out to the leaders. Of the three major farm organizations, the Farmers' Union is favorable toward the plan. The National Grange is still formally on record for the export debenture, but is reported to be sympathetic toward the domestic allotment. The Farm Bureau Federation, which fathered the McNary-Haugen Bill and the equalization fee, can likewise probably be brought to accept the new scheme. If Congress passes a bill similar to that introduced at the last session, empowering the administration to employ whichever one of the three measures it may favor, there is no doubt where its choice would fall. One important issue remains to be cleared up, however. There is considerable opposition among certain groups of farmers to that feature of the plan which would limit output. But this is its main virtue, and its principal advantage over all the other schemes proposed hitherto. On this point Mr. Roosevelt should keep a stiff backbone.

IT IS reported that Democratic leaders, including Governor Roosevelt, are eager to have a farm-relief bill embodying the domestic-allotment plan passed by the winter session of Congress. If this can be got out of the way, and satisfactory budgetary and relief measures passed, it is thought that there will be no need for an extra session of Congress in the spring. We fear, however, that the project is impractical. Congress might pass the bill, even if the farm organizations were not united in its favor, but President Hoover would probably veto it. He opposed it during the campaign; it is the sort of thing he has consistently fought during his whole administration, and it is closely associated with the Democratic candidate. As long as he does not personally approve it, he is not likely to allow it to go through as a courtesy to his successor. For that would make it possible for the Democrats to have what they wanted without explicitly accepting the responsibility for it. If it failed, they could say that it was passed during a Republican administration and signed by a Republican President. If it succeeded, they could point out that it had been taken under Mr. Roosevelt's wing even before he was elected. We think Mr. Hoover is mistaken in opposing it, but since he does so, he would be less than a politician if he did not subject it to veto.

AMID the general European gloom, there is one ray of light. Soviet Russia has succeeded in negotiating non-aggression pacts with France and Poland, and has renewed with the latter country an old conciliation treaty. The U.S.S.R. has also been in process of negotiation with Rumania regarding a non-aggression agreement; the discussions have broken down over Bessarabia, but it is quite possible that they will be renewed and brought to a successful conclusion. As a part of the Franco-Russian agreement, the Soviet embargo against French goods is lifted; and in exchange, France agrees that she will not in the future participate in any anti-Russian commercial blockade, any renewal of the *cordon sanitaire* of the early twenties. The agreement with France is

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of especial importance because of that country's present close relations with Japan, and because of the continuing (although abated) threat of trouble between Japan and Russia in Siberia. Pacts of non-aggression are, of course, of little influence in preventing war when other strong forces compel in that direction; but at other times they are useful in promoting friendly international intercourse and are therefore to be welcomed.

UNLESS all the rest of our national problems in the approaching session of Congress are completely submerged under the rising flood of light wines and beer, our legislators may possibly find time to mitigate the evils of our present deportation system. As readers of The New Republic already know, aliens are now arrested wholesale without warrants; they are held incommunicado for days at a time, and are shipped back to their native countries even though in many cases this means imprisonment or death. In an attempt to overcome these intolerable conditions Mr. Reuben Oppenheimer, a well known Baltimore attorney, and Professor Howard E. Wahrenbrock, of the University of Michigan, both of whom served on a subcommittee of the Wickersham commission investigating deportation, have drawn up a bill which aims to prevent the star-chamber practices now employed by the federal authorities. Under the bill, broad powers will be conferred upon a board for alien appeals, which would have authority to subpoena witnesses and compel testimony. The board, according to the bill, may at its discretion order an alien released from custody; it may refuse to issue a deportation order and may stay the execution of a warrant. But perhaps the most important provision in the bill is that preventing an alien from being deported to his own native land when he can prove that imprisonment or death awaits him there.

AMONG the announcements regarding Mr. Roosevelt's possible Cabinet choices there is one which sounds too good to be true—namely, that he is considering Mr. H. A. Wallace for Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. Wallace, editor and publisher of Wallace's Farmer, of Des Moines, Iowa, is the son of Mr. Wilson's Secretary of Agriculture. He is a "dirt farmer," widely known and trusted by the agrarian population of his own and other states; but even more important, he is an expert agricultural economist, who would know better than to repeat the blunders of the Hoover administration in trying to solve the farm problem by methods most of which have, if anything, made it worse. In the columns of Wallace's Farmer there have appeared for years past some of the most sensible and illuminating material on international trade, the war debts, the gold standard, farm tariffs and allied subjects that we have read anywhere; and there is no doubt that this excellent educational work among the farmers is today bearing fruit. Mr. Roosevelt seems likely to embark upon a bold, thoroughgoing adventure in farm relief designed to give the farmers for the first time the same sort of protection manufacturers have heretofore obtained—protection which they cannot possibly get from a simple agricultural tariff. We know of no one in the United States better equipped to help carry out that experiment than Mr. Wallace.

IN Baltimore, clothing workers who are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are on strike. An unusual feature of the strike is a report, by Professor Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, made, by request, to Mayor Jackson, about the conditions of the industry and the issues at stake. Though the two largest clothing manufacturers in the city would not coöperate in any way with his investigation, Dr. Hollander, with the aid of other experts and after hearings, presents a remarkably complete picture of the situation. The industry suffers from the usual types of disorganization incidental to small-scale production with its system of contractors, sweatshops and home work. All the evils have of course been intensified by the depression. The wage level is below that of the other great clothing centers. Girls get between $5 and $8 a week; men between $10 and $20. Because of irregular operation most of the men probably do not earn more than $500 a year. The direct labor cost on a garment sold at retail for $20 is not more than $3.50. During the busy season a sixty-five-hour week is common. Sanitary conditions are bad, at least in the smaller shops, and a distinct health menace to the city exists. The police have taken an active part in the strike on the side of the employers (the report contains even a detailed opinion by a legal expert on the right of picketing). These and many other important pieces of information lead Dr. Hollander to recommend to the mayor that he look into the police administration of the strike, take action on the health situation through the Health Commissioner and attempt to settle the entire controversy by conference. This is an interesting example of the use of experts in bringing to public attention the facts behind a labor conflict.

Saving Face on War Debts

FINDING a way to deal with war debts is not an economic puzzle but a political one. Those who observe the way it is answered will receive a first-class education, not in the calculus of trade, exchange, money and capital, but in the calculus of accommodating the general mind to an inevitable result. The next few months will illuminate a frequent phenomenon of social psychology—the mechanism of accepting an outcome formerly spurned with great heat, by means of finding new words, new formulas, new symbols, for that out

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come. These will allow the politicians to pretend that what they are doing is what all along they had intended to do, in spite of the fact that it is the precise opposite.

Why do we say that the economic problem is already decided? Simply because there is no possible way, in the visible future, to take from our debtors anywhere near the quantity of real wealth which the debts are supposed to represent. Great Britain has not the export balance which alone would permit her to continue payment without dissipating her investments abroad and so losing the means of feeding her population and supplying her industries with materials. Indeed, she may not be able to pay for the necessary imports in any case. France, as is frequently pointed out, has a lot of gold, and might, by sufficiently reducing her gold reserve, meet her payments to us with that. This would help, provided the possession of the gold enabled us as a nation to acquire the real goods and services which the gold nominally could buy. But our bank reserves are already bulging with gold which is of no use to us, because the credit which it would make possible is not being employed in producing goods and services. And France's debt to us is a minor factor in the situation anyway. Her biggest debt is to Great Britain; this is channeled to our shores through London via the British debt. France has nowhere near enough gold to pay both England and the United States. No refusal to reconsider, no ardent assertion of rights, can change these facts. We could even go to war in order to collect, and still find it impossible to take away enough booty to meet the obligations.

The economic question was finally settled by the depression itself, which so drastically reduced prices and limited trade. Even before that, the probable answer was foreseen by many, although it was veiled from the public eye by the fact that we kept lending to Europe what we received from her. We lent, principally, to Germany, who thus could pay France, Italy, Great Britain and the rest. These nations in turn paid us. Thus the fiction of payment was maintained. This fiction now having broken down because we will no longer lend, another fiction must be invented.

President Hoover and President-elect Roosevelt have begun the good work of invention, while stoutly asserting the old principles. The President's contribution is mainly in the matter of the payments due December 15. He has no power to postpone them and will not recommend that Congress do so. This is the obeisance to established dogma. But he will consider payment in *foreign currencies*, and it is strongly hinted that Congress will do likewise. This is the surrender in fact, disguised in technical language which naturally seems harmless to those who are economically so ignorant that they think the debt can be paid. Acceptance of the payment in English pounds rather than in American dollars, the pounds not to be converted into dollars until the transfer can be accomplished without danger to exchange values, is in fact an indefinite postponement of payment. Pounds are not of the slightest use to the United States government, unless they are spent where British currency is valid. In other words, we say to Britain: "If you will go through the form of payment by depositing with us a certain number of symbols of purchasing power, we will simply keep them on deposit, not taking from you the real wealth which they represent, until it is convenient to do this without injury." This procedure is nothing if it is not postponement of payment. But it can be called payment on the nail.

Governor Roosevelt's invention deals, quite properly, with the negotiations about ultimate revision which must take their course after he assumes office. He, too, accepts verbally the familiar principles about the justice of the debts. But he must begin to find a way of escape for a Congress which is unwilling even to talk about any change in the payments. President Hoover wants Congress to reconstitute the debt-funding commission. But for Congress to do this would be to admit that there is something to talk about, and that concessions are possible. Congress will not now do so. Here, at the very beginning, is a collision of principle with necessity. Mr. Roosevelt deftly avoids it by pointing out that according to another principle, well established in private dealings, debtors always have access to creditors. And in the case of international relations, their normal channel of communication is that of diplomacy, which is constitutionally in the hands of the President. Through the Department of State the debtors can negotiate with him to their heart's content; this requires no action by Congress. Congress will be called upon only to ratify any result of the negotiations. This formula provides a breathing spell for the essential change of atmosphere. It allows time for the invention of new symbols which Congress may be induced to accept.

There are numerous possibilities in this direction. Congress can in the end, we are confident, be persuaded to ratify a satisfactory settlement which its members can say is not cancellation. It would be possible, for instance, to cut the future payments about in half by remitting any further interest, and insisting only on instalments of principal. This would, in words, be insisting on payment of the last red cent of the debt—whereas if we cut the future payments in half by requiring payment of interest, but remitting the principal, that would, in words, be complete cancellation. Between these limits there are numerous possibilities of juggling with the rate of interest.

This is merely an illustration of the sort of thing which may be done; we do not recommend it, because it does not go far enough. What is really necessary is to clear the slate of future payment entirely. A good precedent for this is the Lausanne settlement of reparations. France had been just as

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adamant against lenient treatment of Germany as many in this country are against lenient treatment of the Allies. The problem there, as here, was to find a formula which would, while satisfying popular sentiment, fit the hard facts. Reparations were not, in words, canceled. They were merely reduced and put in the form of a lump sum. Payment of this sum was postponed. In the end it was to be paid only if a bond issue of the requisite size could be floated on the international market, at a minimum price. It was foreseen that this flotation could not succeed unless Germany had in the meantime developed sufficient capacity to pay the charges on it. Even then, the proceeds were to be used, not to pay France or other governments, but to finance economic reconstruction in Europe. They might, for instance, be spent in Germany itself. Thus, real cancellation was provided for. And French opinion was further conciliated by the proviso that the agreement would be presented to the several parliaments for ratification only if a satisfactory settlement of the outpayments of the Allies on war debts were in the meantime arrived at.

A parallel settlement of the debts is entirely possible. We insist, let us say, that the debts are just, and must be honored in full. But we are convinced at the same time that, in our own interest, a settlement must be made which will help and not hinder worldwide recovery. We provide, therefore, for the lump payment of the capital sums, reduced in accordance with the deflation of prices and the difficulties of transfer created by the shrinkage of trade (which, we could be persuaded, is not real reduction). We further provide that this payment be made only if the bonds necessary to finance it can be sold. (Of course, those who think France and Great Britain can pay at present cannot logically contend that such bonds could not be sold.) We specify, again, that the proceeds of the bonds be used, not to pay us directly but for investment wherever they would most help revival of trade. It would be easy to find ways of so using them that the foreign markets for American manufactures and farm products would be correspondingly increased. Mr. Roosevelt might even further parallel the Lausanne agreement by recommending at the same time measures to decrease the burden of our own internal debt.

It is entirely possible to elaborate a logical structure of this kind which would be too complex for Mr. Hearst, Senator Johnson and The Saturday Evening Post to understand, which would be capable of being interpreted as involving no surrender by the anti-cancellationists, but which still would in effect acknowledge the end of real payments and remove the barriers which the lack of settlement raises in the path of trade. For it must be remembered that while the economic question of the debts is now settled, and the necessary adjustment is a political one, this political adjustment is important for its economic effects. How we assimilate the inevitable, and what we do next, have a great deal to do with what becomes inevitable in the future.

Can We Afford Good Health?

FOR NINE-TENTHS of the people of the United States, a serious illness in the family is an economic disaster. This is a statement of a truth so obvious as to require no argument. More than two-thirds of the population cannot afford at any time or on any terms to pay doctors' and hospitals' fees which come at all near covering the cost of these services. In one way or another they are the recipients of charity; and—a fact which is still more regrettable—in millions of cases they simply do not get either the preventive or curative medical care they need, so that our morbidity and death rates are far higher than they need to be.

Probably few Americans realize that this country is almost the last civilized part of the globe where these conditions still prevail. In some thirty-five countries, including every important West European nation, there is a system of compulsory health insurance. To this the individual, his employer and the state, or one or two of the three, contribute annually, and reasonably adequate medical care (its exact quality of course varies) is given without any extra charge. Every family knows at the beginning of the year what the doctor, the dentist, the oculist, the midwife, the hospital, will cost them during the next twelve months, and to a penny. In Soviet Russia the procedure is even simpler and more drastic. All these services are supported by the state and are free to any and everyone who needs them, in proportion to his need.

Recognizing the fact that the economics of American medical practice was a sad muddle, a group of interested persons both within and without the profession of medicine about five years ago embarked upon a study of this situation. They organized the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur who, in addition to being Secretary of the Interior and President of Stanford University, is a practising physician and former head of the American Medical Association. In the five years, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent on research, dozens of monographs published. Now appears the final report of the Committee. In number of various opinions, it resembles the famous Wickersham Report on Prohibition. There is a majority report which, in substance, comes out for "group practice" of medicine, by doctors associated together in clinics, and for a fixed annual fee. There is a minority report which repudiates socialized practice, from a standpoint which appears to be about as reactionary as that of those Tories of medicine represented by the American Medical Association. There is a brilliant "statement" by

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Walton H. Hamilton of Yale, who insists that even the majority report does not go far enough, and that compulsory health insurance, like that maintained abroad, should have been recommended. In a footnote to the majority report, a number of other individuals among the Committee's forty-eight members urge the same thing, and a supplementary note, implying endorsement of compulsory insurance, is signed by several additional members.

The type of group practice recommended in the majority report seems roughly similar to that which has long been urged under the name of "Medical Guilds" by the Twentieth Century Fund. A number of doctors would be associated in one organization, preferably on a salaried basis and under non-profit-making auspices. Individuals would be referred, when it was desirable, to the specialists most competent to deal with their ailments. At the same time, it would probably be true that one doctor would always be responsible for each individual, and reports made by other doctors on that person would always be referred to him, thus keeping that continuous "personal touch" which so many people regard as highly important, and fear the thought of losing in "institutionalized service." The Committee quotes figures suggesting that the cost of such service would be from $20 to $40 per year per person. The Twentieth Century Fund investigators believe, however, that such service, including dentistry, care of the eyes, periodic health examinations, etc., must cost from $50 to $60. (In the Committee plan, old-fashioned service on a fee basis would continue to be available to those wishing it.)

Everyone knows that the average American family, with more than four persons and an annual income of less than $2,000, cannot afford to pay from $80 to $160 a year for medical service. The Committee report does not face this situation frankly, though it suggests that the additional cost in necessitous cases must be made up from taxation, and proposes the extension of the existing governmental public health services to meet the needs of the population. The Twentieth Century Fund plan would have each individual pay what he can, and obtain the remainder from contributions and taxation.

On the whole, this is perhaps as good a report as was to be expected from the men and women who constituted the Committee. It is at least progressive enough so that it will be subject to bitter attack in conservative quarters—including the A.M.A. It is possible to argue in its favor that the American tradition of individualism won't permit any further advance at this time, and that group practice and annual payment are a long step toward complete compulsory health insurance. These opportunistic arguments are met, however, in the pages of the report itself. There it is pointed out that in every European country, voluntary health insurance has been followed by compulsory insurance; that beginning with voluntary schemes has created vast evils which have necessarily been carried over into the compulsory plan; and that in no country would the medical associations consider for a moment a return to the voluntary plan, or to the previous anarchy of private practice, however much they might (as in England) have opposed the new procedure when it was first introduced. One of the weaknesses of this report is that it devotes only one or two pages out of a volume to consideration of European experience, and only a single sentence to that in Soviet Russia, the most important and significant of all.

In short, this is a stop-gap report. The members of the committee as a whole have never grappled with the problem of keeping the nation in good health. They have closed their eyes to the folly of an economic system which keeps three-quarters of the total population just above the subsistence level. The plan which is proposed is better than the existing situation, but that is about as much as can be said for it. The real solution of the question will have to wait until this country shakes off the pathetic delusions of eighteenth-century society which are today keeping it at the tail of the procession.

Unscrambling Radio's Eggs

ONE OF the most important anti-trust decisions which have been made in the past decade was the consent decree providing for the dissolution of the "Radio Group," which Judge John P. Nields of the United States District Court signed on November 21. The decree, which is far gentler punishment than the defendants in their most sanguine moments probably ever hoped to receive, provides for the distribution during a specified period of all Radio Corporation of America stocks owned by the General Electric and Westinghouse Electric Companies. The electric companies are to distribute their radio stock ratably to their own stockholders, with a maximum limit on any one holding, and they must also remove their officials from the radio boards of directors. The decree also condemns the exclusive features of the cross-licensing system and forbids further combinations of an exclusive character. The international agreements which are completely exclusive of competition are "reserved for trial and determination if that becomes necessary" for two and a half years. This means, so far as patents are concerned, that a licensee may not be refused permission to utilize any patents of any of the three concerns, but nothing is said about terms and conditions.

From a social point of view, the decree is a step back toward the old trust-busting days of Roosevelt. A somewhat more constructive solution of the problem was in the offing for a while at least. Last December the Attorney General informed the

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press that the radio suit had been suspended because of negotiations for the formation of an open-patent pool somewhat similar to that employed now for many years by the Automobile Chamber of Commerce. That pool is an open one and rests on a mutual basis of inclusive cross-licensing whereby any manufacturer can obtain on reasonable terms the accumulated technical experience of the whole industry. The plan avoids millions of dollars' worth of litigation and obviates the necessity of making separate contracts with each inventor. However, any attempt to introduce the plan into the radio industry seems to have failed, though it is not known who was responsible for the failure. Here we have suddenly swung from the formula of private monopoly, which is desirable because of its efficiency but undesirable because of the large profit it makes possible, to the formula of competition, which is difficult to enforce and inefficient so far as it is enforced. We have not even considered public monopoly.

The Radio Corporation of America, as everybody knows, was floated by General Electric in 1919 to exploit its wireless patents. It soon became the focal point of a system of exclusive cross-licensing agreements to which Westinghouse was the principal contributor. The National Broadcasting Company (owned 50 percent by Radio Corporation, 30 percent by General Electric and 20 percent by Westinghouse) undertook the creation of demand, and incidentally made a profit for its sponsors; while up to May, 1930, the Radio Corporation placed its manufacturing orders with the two electric companies on an agreed basis of 60 percent to the General Electric concern and 40 percent to Westinghouse. The sets were billed to the R.C.A. at cost, plus 20 percent.

In 1930, about the time the government suit began, it was decided to concentrate the manufacturing end under the control of the R.C.A. itself. The Corporation had acquired the Victor concern (the two electric companies putting up $32,000,000 for the purpose) which was now owned on the same basis as the Broadcasting Company; and in return for its taking over the manufacturing rights and properties, the Corporation doubled its outstanding common stock, allotting the increase to its backers in the usual 60-40 ratio. This gave them some eight million common shares in all out of thirteen million issued. They also held substantial amounts of class A preferred, carrying ten votes per share.

Meanwhile the patent pool swelled to cover some 4,000-odd devices, mostly unadjudicated. Under American law the grant of a patent conveys no guarantee of its validity, which can only be challenged by the act of infringement—thus putting all the risk and onus of upsetting the status quo on the independent. The acceptance of a "blanket license" precludes the taker from challenging any of the devices covered. The Radio Corporation was able to proceed with considerable immunity in granting blanket licenses on its own terms: the terms being 7½ percent of gross value, with substantial minimum payments, and an undertaking by the license to equip his sets with R.C.A. tubes (the notorious Clause 9). These terms netted in 1928 over six million dollars in royalties.

Some patent suits the Corporation had to submit to, particularly at the challenge (and expense) of Lee de Forest; but the government attack hung fire for six years. The Federal Trade Commission was supposed to be investigating the industry from 1924 to 1928. In December, 1928, the Commission discovered that the matter was after all a Sherman Act case and dumped the files on the Department of Justice. The Department turned them over to Colonel Donovan in February, and on March 4 the Colonel and his staff resigned. Congressional pressure, however, was developing, and by the end of the year Senator Couzens' investigation was uncovering a record that the witnesses scarcely even attempted to defend.

The present government suit was opened in May, 1930. In the following October a federal court ruled that Clause 9 was an infringement of the Clayton Act and the decision was sustained by the Supreme Court six months later. Following that verdict, the position of the National Broadcasting Company was brought to the notice of the Federal Radio Commission, in virtue of a clause in the Radio Act forbidding the grant of a license to "any corporation or subsidiary thereof which has been adjudged guilty by a federal court of unlawfully monopolizing or attempting to monopolize radio communication, directly or indirectly, through the control of the manufacture or sale of radio apparatus." It was expected that the Commission would refuse to renew a license and open the way for a decision as to the broadcasting situation. But three out of five commissioners suffered one of those fits of "illumination" which sometimes oddly happen to judges, and the licenses were renewed. It is an ironic consequence of the consent decree that under the inter-company adjustments the National Broadcasting Company gets control of seven important additional stations, including Schenectady and the Westinghouse stations in New England.

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After Prohibition—What?

NATIONAL prohibition, as embodied in the Eighteenth Amendment, now seems to have few friends other than the professional Drys and the members of their organizations. There has been a mad rush to get on the Wet band wagon. But the rush has been a thoughtless one, for few have bothered to consider what direction the band wagon should take, and how far it is likely to go. With a similar lack of thought, we stumbled into the error of the last twelve years. Engrossed by the War, the country was led by well organized Drys, whose only real opposition came from the liquor traffic which was discredited because it had consistently refused to clean house. Engrossed by the depression, the country is now in danger of being led, for a time at least, by well organized Wets whose only real opposition is the professional Drys who are discredited because they have consistently refused to admit that their "noble experiment" was imperfect. In 1919 we made the mistake of going to an unwise extreme. Are we being urged to make the same mistake again? Are we going to have a long drawn-out struggle because both Wets and Drys take extreme positions and refuse to leave them in an attempt to find common ground? In 1919 the middle-of-the-road people were right. Should they not have a hearing now, or is our country one which insists on being extremist and then slowly and painfully paying for its mistakes?

Unless the middle-of-the-road people do have a hearing, the Eighteenth Amendment may be with us for a long time. At best, our cumbersome federal amending machinery grinds slowly. It will grind with unusual slowness if we build the new wheels of state conventions to ratify an amendment repealing or modifying the Eighteenth Amendment. Indeed, the Wets may discover that the state conventions are really the Achilles' heel of their strategy. But the amending machinery may not grind at all if those demanding repeal do not become specific in respect to the new federal liquor regime which they are willing to set up.

Perhaps the prophets are right in saying that there will be enough Wets in the next Congress to carry a resolution proposing simple repeal. That, from the Wet point of view, may not be a great victory. Perhaps the Drys will prefer to lose this way in Congress, on the theory that they will thereby be stronger in the state legislatures. If they lose there, they may have the conventions to fall back upon. Who now dares to prophesy that one more than twelve states will not, for a considerable period, refuse to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment? And if the Wets, without establishing strict federal control, amend the Volstead Act to legalize "non-intoxicating" beer for taxation purposes, I venture to suggest that they will increase the chance of their defeat on the Amendment; that if the states can do what they please with beer, the resulting orgy will give to the Drys such arguments that thirteen states will cleave to the Amendment, and that the fight in Congress will then be to bar again the "non-intoxicating" liquors. For if places are legalized to sell beer they will indubitably sell "harder" liquors.

In other words, "After Prohibition" may continue to look to the future until there is some agreement upon what shall be substituted for the Eighteenth Amendment and its objectionable child, the Volstead Act; and the "What" which is agreed upon will have to seem to a considerable number of Drys to warrant a fair trial. Without such an agreement, the Wets will suffer defeat in respect of time. And if the Drys are sincere in desiring above all else a temperate and law-abiding nation, then they have already been routed, since, with the Amendment declared by both parties to be a failure, violations of the Volstead Act will be more general, enforcement more half-hearted and convictions more difficult. Hence it is highly desirable that there be an understanding from different points of view on the probable benefits and evils of a new legislative set-up. Both Wets and Drys will lose by too great intransigence. With this preface I proceed to outline (1) Some premises to which reasonable people on both sides should give heed, and (2) "What" might be discussed as a substitute for the present seemingly friendless but not quickly vanishing regime.

Some Premises

On prohibition it is well to be personal as well as pontifical. Does one write as a Wet or as a Dry? is a legitimate question. As my preface suggests, I am in the middle of the road. I never believed in the Eighteenth Amendment and was convinced that, even from the point of view of the Anti-Saloon League or the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Amendment was a great mistake. In saying this I assume that the Dry organizations genuinely desired something more than the paper victory of "constitutional prohibition" and an unenforced and unenforceable addition to the congressional statute book. If they wished to lessen the amount of intoxicating liquors drunk by the American people and to have the greatest possible measure of observance of the laws which attempted to make this amount annually smaller, it would have been wiser to deal gradually and locally with the pre-Volstead regime, and not to annihilate it suddenly by putting the country into a legal straitjacket.

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In 1919 twenty-nine states were bone Dry and were making genuine efforts to enforce their laws—far more genuine than the efforts they made when they were able to shift the responsibility onto an impotent federal administration. In these states there were no saloons. There were speakeasies, but not many. Some states permitted the importation of small amounts of liquor for personal use and some did not. Of the Wet states, many had widely extended areas of local option in which there were no saloons; two-thirds of the population of the country was residentially saloonless. The Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913 and the Reed Bone-Dry Amendment of 1917 preventing shipments into Dry states would gradually have made it possible for those states to enforce their liquor laws as effectively as any of their other criminal laws were enforced. The time table was unfortunate, for the Webb-Kenyon Act, and more especially the Reed Amendment, had no real test before wartime prohibition. In opposing federal protection to the Dry states, the liquor interests made a great mistake. They thereby helped to bring on the Amendment. But the Drys also made a mistake in thinking that conditions in the Wet states could be instantaneously and permanently improved by a uniform federal regime rather than by appeals to public opinion within the Wet states and a gradual tightening of state laws. If they needed further federal assistance for this, they should have sought a constitutional amendment sanctioning it and nothing more.

The Problem of the Saloon

I have said above that from the Dry standpoint, a gradual tightening of the 1919 regime should have been a satisfactory solution as of that date. Now, however, it seems to me too late for the Wets to propose to turn back and to dismiss the last dozen years as a bad dream. In 1919 certain areas of Wet states had saloons. The wise course then would have been gradually to reduce those areas and drastically to regulate those that remained. Now, twelve years later, the country wishes to ban saloons in every area. Governor Roosevelt promises to urge Congress to legalize beer and wine, but he would not venture to say that the beer and wine should be sold in saloons. Where does he propose that they be sold? How do the other anti-saloon Wets contemplate banning the saloon? They should think this out, for there are, as I have said, enough states in which the Drys control to prevent the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment until there are adequate assurances that the saloon will not be relegalized. The Wets cannot challenge this position. A great government, having tried—however unwisely—the experiment of national prohibition, may and should be intellectually honest and admit error. But it can hardly sanction a return to the pre-prohibition regime. Surely there is some salvage possible. The new regime should be somewhat in advance of that which preceded the "experiment, noble in purpose." And if the Amendment could be repealed without at the same time enacting an anti-saloon substitute, then on a long view the situation is not greatly bettered. For a return to the 1919 regime and a few states becoming dripping Wet would give renewed aid and comfort to the Drys. They would promptly move for another national prohibition amendment, and the fight would begin again.

Federal Manufacture and Distribution

What then can be done? The Democratic platform urges "the enactment of such measures by the several states as will actually promote temperance, effectively prevent a return of the saloon and bring the liquor traffic into the open under complete supervision and control by the states." That is little more than a pious wish. Even assuming the good faith of the Democratic party, it would be powerless in more than half of the state legislatures, where it would be in a minority. The Republicans promise a federal ban on the saloon, but do not explain how it shall be made effective. In the closing days of the last congressional session, Senator Glass proposed the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment except (1) that "the sale of intoxicating liquors within the United States . . . for consumption at the place of sale commonly known as a 'saloon' " would be prohibited; and (2) that "the transportation of intoxicating liquors into [Dry] states" would be forbidden. How absurd it would be for a document which Gladstone called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man" solemnly to prohibit the saloon! But apart from political esthetics, the proposal would not work. There would be difficulties over definition. Federal agents have been unable to deal with the speakeasy. How could they deal with saloons permitted by state laws? The fundamental objection to the present regime is that federal agents should not and cannot do police work which the localities should do. And so long as it is the legal duty of federal agents to police the country, the states will not do the policing themselves.

What is wanted also—and there has been little or no mention of it in current discussions—is that there be no menace from a revivified and relegalized liquor traffic. Who is to furnish the legal liquor which President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt now agree that the inhabitants of certain states should have on condition that there are no saloons? Are distilleries and breweries to be permitted in any state which wishes them? If they get this permission they will seek to increase the consumption of their output. They will endeavor to export to Dry states. They will work on the state legislatures to obtain more liberal laws. Their lobby in Washington will seek less and less federal protection to the Dry states. Should it not be agreed, therefore, that any substitutes for the

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Eighteenth Amendment must bar a liquor traffic conducted for private profit and that any new regime must make impossible competition between companies and brands and propaganda to combat the "temperance" which the Democratic platform so warmly blesses?

Then there is the question of governmental revenues from the sale of liquors. Governor Roosevelt, for example, wants the legalization of beer to "provide therefrom a proper and needed revenue." It is extravagantly estimated that a billion dollars may be made to flow into the coffers of the federal, state and local governments. The Wet argument now seems to be that the great government of the United States should profit from the intemperance of its citizens. That is a dangerous position to take. The ideal of every government should be to derive as little revenue as possible from the drinking habits of its citizens, and the obligation is the greater for a government which has said for twelve years that its citizens should have no liquor at all. Prices to the consumer must be so scaled as to discourage consumption, particularly of hard liquor, and to attempt this governments must tax or fix prices. But the revenue side ought not to be stressed. If they want to stress it, however, the Wets should be logical and say that the government should take all the profit rather than simply the proceeds of taxation. In that way the revenues would be larger and—this is more important—there would be eliminated what is the great vice of a legalized commercialization of the liquor traffic. That is the parent of a large progeny of different evils.

Recapitulation of the Premises

To recapitulate, then, a substitute for the present regime should be considered on the basis of these premises:

1. The substitute should not be frozen into the Constitution so that rigidity will be necessary and experiment impossible;
2. There should be no simple wiping out of the twelve years of national prohibition and a return to the 1919 regime;
3. The saloon should not be legalized;
4. The scheme of control should impose upon the federal government only those tasks which it can reasonably be expected to perform;
5. The state governments should have full responsibility for all other phases of control;
6. Federal protection should be given Dry states;
7. States which do not wish to be Dry should be allowed to frame their own regulations so long as the saloon is not permitted;
8. If the chief evil of a commercialized liquor traffic is avoided, many of the lesser evils which result from it can be easily dealt with;
9. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment or the amendment of the Volstead Act should not be argued for on the ground that the government needs revenue from liquor;
10. Prices should be scaled so as to reduce consumption, but should not be so high as to make a contraband traffic profitable. The revenues resulting from such a scale of prices should be taken by the government and devoted to objects which are not unconnected with the harmful use of liquors.

Plan for Liquor Control

On these premises, then, what form of liquor control should be attempted? It may be that there are different schemes which would promise to achieve the desired ends. If so, they should be brought forward and discussed. At the moment, however, to my mind there seems to be only one possible regime: control by the federal government of the sources of all liquor which may be distributed, to prevent it from entering Dry states and to release it to Wet states on conditions the most important of which would be that the liquor would not be consumed at a place of sale which makes its profits on such sales; all other liquor to be illegal.

This is the kind of control which was described by Mr. Henry W. Anderson, a dissenting Wickersham Commissioner. The plan is for the federal government to monopolize the liquor traffic and to take the private profit out of it. A bi-partisan national commission on liquor control would be given complete authority (under congressional statutes) over all beverage liquors and industrial alcohol. Liquors for beverage purposes would be manufactured or imported by a national corporation which Congress would charter and which would be supervised by the commission. The dividends which the corporation, its branches or its agents could pay would be strictly limited. All unauthorized manufacture would be a crime under federal laws. All transportation or sales of liquor other than the commission's liquor would be illegal. Counterfeiting of the commission's labels would be unlawful. These are crimes for which juries would be willing to convict.

A state which wished to remain absolutely Dry could be Dry so far as the legal liquor was concerned. None would be shipped to it. If the state wished no manufacturing within its borders then no licenses would be issued to local brewers or distillers. Contraband manufacture would be a federal crime as it was when there was a federal tax on manufacture, but the Dry state would have to enforce its own laws against sale. The Dry state would be better protected than before national prohibition. There would be much greater federal assistance given it, but an assistance rendered in a jurisdiction properly federal and not by federal agents doing work which can be done only by the local police.

States which did not wish to be Dry could set up state commissions authorized to negotiate for shipments from the national commission, and to distribute them on minimum conditions which would be set forth in the national regulations, but which could

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be supplemented according to the wishes of the state legislature or state commissions. Mr. Anderson urged that distribution be limited to individual permit holders for personal use only, but sentiment has raced so fast that he would probably not now insist on this strict requirement.

Prices to be charged the state commissions would be fixed by the national commission. They obviously should be higher on liquors of high alcoholic content, but not so high as to encourage a contraband traffic. The national commission would act on the principle that the best way of dealing with violations of the law is to take the profit out of them. Minimum prices to be charged by the states would have to be fixed by the national commission, but the state commission could determine upon higher scales. The commissions would pay their expenses and the excess revenues would then be divided between the national government and the states, but earmarked for various social services.

Why the Plan Will Work

This in briefest outline is the scheme. Both sympathetic and hostile critics can raise many questions which seem to have been ignored, but they can all be covered by statutes or administrative regulations. Legitimate criticisms can be brought against the plan, but any scheme of liquor control is open to objections. No scheme ever tried has been completely satisfactory. The question to be asked is: Does the plan have fewer defects than other plans? Choosing the least of several evils, it would put governments into the liquor business, but the plain merits are that it would meet the points raised in the premises listed above.

Of course there would be violations of the federal and state laws, and evasions of the administrative regulations. There would still be moonshining and bootlegging. There would be speakeasies. Moonshining was with us in the old days, but it then catered to a restricted clientele. When there was national prohibition, that clientele became respectable. When, on the other hand, it is possible legally to obtain good liquor at a fair price, the moonshiners' market naturally dwindles to a minimum which, if it cannot be eliminated, is not serious. So with bootlegging. Under a system of distribution by national and state commissions, bootleggers would still exist, but they would not flourish. Their clients would be reduced in number. Their operations would be sporadic and on a small scale. No longer could an illicit traffic in intoxicating liquors promise tremendous profits and thus enlist the widely flung criminal auxiliaries that it now has.

In his report, Mr. Anderson points out that the kind of control he proposes is not new so far as American administrative experience is concerned. The railroads of the country are regulated by federal and state commissions. Profits in excess of a certain percentage are subject to recapture and use under government control. So with the Federal Reserve Banks. Profits in excess of a limited return and reserve go into the federal Treasury. During the War there were several successful experiments in joint federal and state administration. Surely it cannot be said that such a system of liquor control will impose too great a burden on the "genius" of American political institutions. Let the critics who fear the power of corrupt municipal and state political organizations and who recall the failure of the pre-Volstead state dispensary system remember that the core of the control would be federal. There is no reason why a government which successfully administered difficult wartime services—the draft, shipping, raw materials, food—could not be successful in administering a scheme of liquor control.

Commissions are not popular now. But it seems to me that the time is ripe for another *ad hoc* commission—small and distinguished in personnel. It should be composed of Wets and Drys who are sincerely anxious that the experiment which was "noble in purpose" should be supplanted by an experiment which promises to be more successful in operation. Such a commission should draft a new constitutional amendment giving Congress the necessary legislative authority. The commission's terms of reference should include the preparation of the complete scheme of control which would be tried under the new amendment, if and when it was substituted for the Eighteenth Amendment. The country should know in detail what will take the place of the Volstead regime and be able to discuss the details before state legislatures or conventions are called upon to act.

This suggestion is not a counsel of perfection, but of common sense. Unless the Wets (who are in the saddle so far as shouting goes) consent to a scheme which will preserve the "gains" of national prohibition, they will either (1) so strengthen the Dry cause in thirteen states that the modification of the Eighteenth Amendment will be unfortunately postponed; or (2) if in the end they should gain an unthought-out victory, they will ensure their later defeat. Unless the Drys consent to compromise and show their willingness to modify the present regime, they will bring on open nullification. The Volstead Act will become a "blue" law which is enforced only sporadically. The consequences of this will be serious, not only in respect to temperance, but in respect to attitudes toward the Constitution and criminal laws in general. Are the Drys willing to accept responsibility for such a disaster?

And if beer is legalized in order to fill empty treasuries, then the national government should monopolize its manufacture and importation and, acting with the states, should take the profits instead of simply levying taxes. Such a regime, constitutional under the Eighteenth Amendment (if beer can be legalized at all), could be authorized for all liquors if and when that Amendment is repealed.

Lindsay Rogers.

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Canine Primary

OF COURSE I wanted my dog to have all the advantages of modern psychological pedagogy, so I entered him at the John Dewey Day Dog School, an institution said to be conducted under the auspices of Teachers' College. To be sure, he would meet the sons of more famous dogs at one of those church boarding schools, but I want my dog to be non-sectarian. Also, he is a mongrel, and the patrician dogs might make fun of him. I call him Nero after the well known violinist. I am sure he is gifted in some direction, and it might as well be music.

"This is Nero," I said to the principal of Day Dog, "and I should like him to learn how to beg, give his paw, play dead, fetch a ball, point a bird, walk on his hind legs, carry a newspaper in his mouth, and lie down when I say *couche-toi*. And when I say *couche-toi* I mean *couche-toi*. I love my dog, but I want him to be versatile, and obedient."

"Progressive canine pedagogics," answered the principal, twiddling the Phi Beta Kappa key on his watch chain, "have arrived at the conclusion that there is no place in the curriculum for modern languages until close to the age of adolescence, let us say eighteen months. And as for your other requests," he added, smiling with indulgent pity, "we cynologists of the new school believe in the fundamental approach. We do not teach formal subjects, such as begging and carrying newspapers, for some time. We begin by studying the dog's reactions until we understand his personality. We try to rehabilitate the dog's emotional attitudes, which are nearly always warped by faulty home environment. We attempt to bring out the suppressed traits of his character. A dog, if left alone with a number of objects, will choose that which most appeals to him. . . ."

"Chew?" I interrupted timidly.

"No, choose. Our tests have selected a list of eleven hundred objects which appeal to one side or another of dog nature. Our teachers show the dogs how to play with those objects. For correct play habits are the foundation of character. Upon that foundation the normal dog builds with amazing rapidity. He learns to adapt himself to unusual situations and to the society of other dogs. He learns to abandon moping, day dreaming and isolationist or antisocial conduct. And he graduates, if we have been successful and if the dog's owner coöperates, a complete, well rounded, psychically integrated and physically homogeneous dog."

"What does he know?" I asked.

The principal looked at me scornfully. "Knowledge is secondary," he said, "the main thing is to unfold the tiny buds of dog personality."

Then he showed me through the school. In one room a group of puppies were tearing shoes apart with their teeth. In another, full of older dogs, I saw a teacher crawling on all fours, holding a ball in her mouth and growling.

"At first," explained the principal, "the teachers have to talk to the dogs in very simple language." In a third room some of the dogs were chasing each other around, others were gnawing bones, scratching themselves and barking.

"Recess?" I questioned.

"Not at all," said the principal, rather acidly, "these dogs are learning to integrate their personalities."

So I left Nero, who whined pitifully as I went, at the Day Dog School. He came back wagging his tail, so I supposed everything was going splendidly. A few days later I received a letter from the school. "Little Nero," it said, "is an introvert. We have had a faculty meeting about him, and it seems best that his vitality should be built up by drinking extra milk in the middle of the morning." Enclosed was a bill for ten dollars for the milk, which I paid. Some weeks went by, weeks during which I was absorbed by the affairs of the world of men. Nero seemed quite as happy and lively as ever, but otherwise I could not notice any change in his play habits or personality, and he destroyed slippers, barked at strangers, slept on brocade sofas, just as before. Although I was very busy I called up the principal. "Nero," he said, "is becoming gradually externalized. His teacher considers him much less self-centered. The dogs in his class are now studying dog biscuit. The classroom is full of samples of the materials that go into dog biscuit, the walls are hung with maps showing where dog biscuit is made. By observing familiar objects and tracing them back to their component sources do we lead the plastic canine mind out of Narcissism into the wonders of the objective universe."

The next day Nero refused to eat any dog biscuit and was caught munching a first edition of the poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay. The influence of the school had begun to tell. Already Nero was beginning to decide things for himself, or, in the words of a pamphlet on primary canine mentality lent me by the principal, to "opt."

Nero's first monthly report, while not brilliant, was satisfactory. "Nero," it said, "is adapting himself rapidly to the group, and is barking with greater self-confidence, but lacks coöperative spirit and is more than normally destructive of materials." Enclosed was a bill for thirteen pairs of shoes, which I thought rather high, but a footnote explained that Nero vastly preferred new shoes to old, and that the zest of novelty was a highly important educative factor. I was tempted to write

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back that Nero had just finished a home-study course in hook rugs, and enclose a bill for the rugs, but I hate arguing with people who know so much about psychology and so many long words. And anyhow Nero seemed very happy.

I have never received so many letters as I did from that Day Dog School since the time when in a moment of ghoulish curiosity I answered an advertisement for the Cliffview Mausoleum. First it was Owner's Week. "Next week is Owner's Week," wrote Nero's teacher, "and every owner will give his dog something for the dog to take back to school and present to the School Museum. It is suggested that the gift should be either fruit, flowers or something illustrating the Industrial Revolution in America." Then it was Woodchuck Week. "Your dog," said the mimeographed letter, "has been digging on his own initiative, along with other primary dogs, a deep hole in the Nature Study Yard. He will soon get to the bottom, which is concrete. He expects to find something at the bottom when he gets there. If he doesn't find anything he will be disappointed and disillusioned, a hole-complex may form in his mind and he will tend to indulge in fantasies rather than action. The teachers and the older dogs think that it is imperative that every dog should find a woodchuck at the bottom of his hole. Unfortunately our woodchuck fund is exhausted. Won't you please send a live woodchuck to reach the school not later than Thursday?"

Then there was a bill for bus fare for taking all the pre-primary dogs on an expedition to the George Washington Bridge. Then another monthly report. "Nero is much more social-minded than when he came to Day Dog, and coördinates well for his age. He is already becoming an independent little mechanism. However, he is a highly sensitive dog, and cannot bear reproof. Perhaps this is because he is not admonished sufficiently at home. May we ask his owner to coöperate with us. Do not whip or slap Nero, but when he misbehaves show him what he has done and explain why it was a mistake. Reason with him as much as possible. . . . Scratching: excellent; Music: only fair."

Well, he can't be perfect. I would be the last person to wish for a regimented, under-individualized dog. And he is certainly making progress. The class has just been studying primitive wolf life. The wolf was the ancestor of the dog, and many dogs have wolflike traits. It seems quite logical for them to study, through lantern slides and samples in little bowls, how wolves lived and what wolves ate. And wolf folkways are as good an approach as any to an understanding of our complicated civilization. One should study wolves imaginatively, from the inside. All the dogs are asked to pretend that they are wolves. If some of them develop howls or take to biting visitors, that's only the seamy side of a very beautiful and understanding educational carpet. On the whole I am satisfied with Day Dog. Nero lacks concentration, but is full of self-expression and curiosity. And curiosity, they say, is the mother of wisdom.

And yet somehow I am sorry that Nero has not learned how to give his paw, or stand on his hind legs, or balance a piece of sugar on his nose. He can't do any of the normal useful dog tricks. He jumps all over people, his voice is shrill, and he talks all the time. When I say *"couche-toi"* to him he barks and runs around the room. Yet of course I would not want to have these things driven into him at the expense of a budding, blossoming, vital personality.

The principal of Day Dog says that the basic methodology of canine education could probably quite successfully be applied to children (though unfortunately no one has thought of doing so), but not to lizards. Lizards, it appears, have no personalities or emotional content worth integrating.

ROBERT LITTELL.

Crutches for Broadcast Music

AMERICAN broadcasters know little and care less about the finest music, and think that most listeners are like themselves. Hence they do not give much time to this music; or they do not really give it even in the little time they do assign to it; or they give only one movement of a symphony or quartet which they do broadcast. And since they cannot conceive of a piece of music being interesting or intelligible by itself, they surround it with vast quantities of talk which they think will arouse the listener's interest and increase his appreciation—talk of many different kinds which reveals not only the level of musical understanding but the general intellectual level in broadcasting circles.

The broadcasters, for one thing, attempt to impress the listener with the music. Each work—whether by Saint-Saëns or by Brahms—is introduced by an announcement like this one, taken from Columbia's Symphonic Hour, and spoken in a very, very high-toned manner:

> Toscha Seidel, happy in the widened scope which this hour gives him [or Toscha Seidel at his most lyrically eloquent] has chosen for his first offering today the first movement from Brahms' "Concerto for Violin and Cello." In this notable composition he will have the assisting soloist, Ossip Giskin, for the cello parts. This famous work presents Brahms at his happiest, the noble dreamer and inspired romanticist, meticulous in his craft, and of amazing fertility

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of musical ideas. We commend to you this Allegro movement.

At the end of the hour Columbia "sells" the music a second time:

> The Slavic heart singing of its sturdy race and his picturesque homeland closes our Symphonic Hour for today. During the program, we have heard, among other details, Toscha Seidel's masterly interpretation of an excerpt from Brahms' "Concerto for Violin and Cello." In addition, we were party to a memorial performance of the finale from César Franck's "Violin Sonata in A," dedicated to that late genius, Eugene Ysaye, who died last Tuesday in Brussels, bringing to a close a rich and memorable career. The high spot among the orchestral numbers . . . notable Hungarian modernist . . . Saint-Saëns' famous study . . . that ever melodic tribute of a sincere patriot to the queen river of his native land . . . etc., etc.

Nor does Columbia handle only its studio broadcasts in this way: every stray moment of its New York Philharmonic broadcasts is filled in with material of this sort.

To arouse interest, the broadcasters also provide the music with a literary setting. For example, "Shades of Don Juan" (WOR):

> Once more does night, with magic minstrelsy, bring forth the music of the glamorous past, stirring the soul of Don Juan to awake and leave its dreams for visions 'neath the moon.
>
> Master of the murmuring courts
> Where the shapes of sleep convene,
> Lo! my spirit here exhorts
> All the powers of thy demesne
> For their aid to woo my queen." Etc.

(Leading to Rachmaninov's "Silence of the Night.")

Further examples of this procedure are the various "Reincarnations of Great Composers." Sometimes the literature does not even stop, and the music is heard only as a faint background. Thus, what is supposed to be a performance of Händel's "Water Music" (N.B.C.) is instead a dramatization of his reconciliation with George I through this music (an episode on a par with Washington and the cherry tree):

> *(Water and oar sounds—Fade into distant "Water Music" which becomes stronger but not too strong.)*
>
> KING. By my soul, that is sweet music, Baron. Listen to the dainty measures . . .
>
> BARON. Perfect, your majesty, perfect. How well it goes on the water . . .
>
> KING. 'Tis the spirit and soul of water Listen now. *(Pause. Music wells up.)* There! Like fountains, with the theme of a bird's song woven through the slender spray . . .
>
> BARON. Your majesty turns a neat phrase.
>
> KING. I feel transported to an unearthly realm. Here, let me try a bit of that cake there on the stool.
>
> BARON. Here you are, your majesty.
>
> KING. Very tasty. Is that stein quite empty? . . . Signal the man to refill. Speak no more for the moment. I want to listen to these merry measures . . . *(Music up for a moment.)* Superb, superb . . . Hand me my napkin . . . No, not my kerchief. I'm not weeping. It's something I've spilled on this neckcloth, drat it! That music has me spellbound.
>
> BARON. It does not seem possible that a mortal, a man capable of human failings, could write it.
>
> KING. Quite right. Quite right, Baron. Still . . . there were such . . .
>
> BARON. Händel?
>
> KING. Don't speak of him. The ingrate . . . Etc., etc.

All this, obviously, instead of interesting the listener in the music, draws his attention to other things.

This may be said also of the attempts to help the listener to appreciate the music. It is clear that what is done should have some relation to his difficulty. A single phrase gives him no trouble, because he can hear it, and what he hears he can understand. That is, the meaning of music is grasped with the sound, and grasped immediately, without difficulty. The untrained listener's difficulty is with the aggregate, the succession of phrases. As the music passes quickly before him in time, he does not hear detail, and does not perceive the relations among details that give the work coherence and meaning as an entity.

The remedy follows inevitably from the difficulty. For one thing, it consists in setting the music before him phrase by phrase, so that he has detailed knowledge of the work. In addition, as one goes along one can point out relations among phrases—the fact that something here is derived from something there. In this connection one can point out certain type relations and the basic procedures which establish them in all music. This will help the listener in other works.

But this is difficult; it consumes time; and it is that thing the broadcasters dread, education. They are afraid to let the untrained listener hear music without help; but they are afraid to do the one thing that will help him; and so they do other things. But in evading their difficulty they also evade his: the things they do are useless and worse.

They tell the listener that in Glinka's Overture to "Russlan and Ludmilla" he can detect "the turbulent and proud spirit of the true Muscovite, the haunting wistfulness and melancholy of the race, and, at times, the almost barbaric heights of their mirth" (Columbia). Or that Mozart's G-minor Symphony begins with "an opening Allegro of characteristic sunniness," and ends with "an Al-

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legro leaving a sense of warmth and the sunshine of human happiness" (Columbia). In other words, they tell him what the music means—which he does not need to be told, since it is evident; and which they cannot tell him, since it consists in subtleties of feeling that cannot be put into words. To know what Mozart's symphony means, the listener must listen to it, and need do only that. With the help of words he may hear only the meaning of the words (which in this case misrepresent Mozart completely).

Or the broadcasters tell the listener what the music suggests to them, what it does to them, what they think it did to the composer. To Mr. Floyd Neale (WOR) the last movement of Mendelssohn's D-major Quartet suggests a wedding with chatter and gossip and everyone rushing up to the bride and groom; or a movement of a Grieg quartet "dwarves and pixies and elves all scampering away to their private haunts." On the other hand, to Mr. Olin Downes (Columbia) it seems that in "En Saga," by Sibelius, "the orchestra gathers itself, girds up its loins and leaps into a dance with knives drawn—lust of battle, glory of death. When I hear this music I avow a carnal desire to discard the soft fat ways of life; to set out in oilskins, or something, for somewhere, to discover a desperate polar bear bent on conflict!" The scherzo of Beethoven's "Eroica" suggests to him autumn scenes; and as for the Eighth:

> The symphony soars to the skies. It is the laughter of a Titan who elected for the moment to make play with the stars and the planets. . . . The first phrase bursts without a preliminary chord or measure or rest from the orchestra, and that's the man Beethoven when he went out to converse with the wind and sky. I can see him striding through street and field, muttering, shouting, singing, forging his mighty music. . . .

Mr. Downes himself furnishes the best commentary upon all this sort of thing: "Beethoven, Bruckner—and how many others"—he exclaims—"have suffered from the conceptions of little men, prone to find in the expressions of great souls something that reflected the limitations of themselves!" More accurately, it is the listener who suffers, since now, in order to hear the music, he must first rid his mind of the various products of Mr. Neale's and Mr. Downes' imaginations; and this is difficult to do. Program music is associated with a program; but even there a listener will get closer to the truth of Debussy's subtly evocative "Fêtes" by listening to it with no guidance other than the title, than by listening to it through the imagination of Mr. Damrosch, who makes of it a vulgar picture of a street carnival. For one musician I know, the Prelude to "Lohengrin" will never be anything but the picture of a sunrise, because he was unfortunate enough to be taken to a children's concert at which Mr. Damrosch translated it so.

The nearest the broadcasters get to the untrained listener's difficulty is to tell him, without playing a note of the music, that the first theme "is announced and expanded by the orchestra. Between this theme and the second are long connecting passages and subthemes. . . . The treatment of the ideas is lengthy, and very rich and bold. The hero theme is endlessly manipulated, and always with fresh resource. . . " (Mr. Downes) But who, if he could remember all this, would be able to identify in the music the various details summed up in the terms "expanded," "connecting passages," "subthemes," "manipulated," "fresh resource"—who, other than a person already familiar with every detail of the "Eroica," or a trained listener; and he does not need the analysis. For the untrained listener the words remain words, and his difficulty remains a difficulty. Nor does it help him with Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue to tell him that "in addition to his other epoch-making achievements Bach completely altered the style of music which was then in use for the harpsichord. He brushed aside the narrow ideas of his predecessors and boldly strode out on new and unbroken paths" (N.B.C.). For he must know the music of Bach and his predecessors in order to understand what "narrow ideas" and "unbroken paths" refer to; and one who knows the music does not need help.

As for historical information—which is not helpful, but is interesting for itself—much of it is incorrect or ridiculous. And always, with the ignorance in substance, there is the manner of intimate knowledge. For a performance of the Rondo *a la turca* from Mozart's A-major Piano Sonata Columbia explains that during Mozart's lifetime "the Osman domination of Greece and Athens lay heavily on many an artistic soul. Mozart, like many another great artist, found his fancy caught by the faded glory that had been Greece, and out of his sentiments came the celebrated 'Ruins of Athens,' and its immortal 'Turkish March'"—which were written by Beethoven. And "at this period," says Mr. Neale sonorously, "Brahms was fond of creating two themes, one masculine and one feminine, and associating them, as God created Adam and Eve and watched them transformed in the Garden of Eden."

Mr. Downes, who, as we have seen, follows all the accepted broadcasting patterns[1] is better acquainted with the body of traditional and current ideas about music. But these ideas, as critics like Ernest Newman and Donald Francis Tovey show every now and then, are not reliable; and in restating them Mr. Downes elaborates, exaggerates, uses them as themes on which to improvise, and in so doing gives them the quality of his own thought, feeling and language; so that even where they were true to start with, in the end they may be unaccep-

[1] He, too, "sells" the music: "'Heldenleben,' a regular *Pickelhaube* rhapsody, brags and swaggers to such warm and virile melody, such rhythmic energy, such vitality and splendor of counterpoint, that the listener must cry 'Kamerad'! . . . Here is an astonishing amount of sheer music, sure-footed if not eagle-winged."

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table. Beethoven did quarrel with his brother over the brother's relations with his housekeeper; but Mr. Downes reduces the incident to leering gossip. And in much the same way he cheapens and misrepresents Debussy:

> This is the first effective revolt against Wagnerism and Germanism in the orchestral music of the late nineteenth century. . . . The old regime is out and the new one is in, without a cannon fired! No guns! No soap-box oratory! Debussy goes quietly away from the fuss and turmoil into his tower of ivory. He consults his own spirit and that of his antique civilization. His music, in fact, goes back to a period before Bach and Beethoven ever existed, for it is wholly pagan, non-ethical, unphilosophic, and worshipful of the beauty of an antique period. . . . Debussy does not pursue the methodical assymetric [symetric?] ideal of the German symphonists at all. He develops a theme —yes—and squeezes the juice out of it as surely as Beethoven ever did; etc., etc.

On the other hand, when Mr. Downes goes in for original research—say, into the origin of a theme in a Brahms symphony—he involves his listeners in his own misadventures.

In the case of Mr. Downes the broadcasting company is not to blame. It does the right thing: it engages the critic of The Times, on the presumption that he can be relied on for correctness in procedure and facts; and it is not Columbia's fault that the critic of The Times is not what he should be. For that matter, justice demands the further admission that much of the talk criticized in this article is only a more lurid, more vulgar, form of what appears in newspaper reviews and program notes.

What it comes to is that hardly a useful or sensible word is broadcast with music. Against this the companies, Mr. Neale, Mr. Downes, will cite the thousands of letters they receive testifying to the value of what they do. Thousands of people, it appears, think that when they listen to a play about George I, they are listening to music; that when they acquire a mere phrase about Bach striding out on unbroken paths, they have acquired knowledge about his music; that when they hear what music suggests to Mr. Neale, Mr. Damrosch or Mr. Downes, they are hearing the content of the music; that when Mr. Neale tells them Brahms' methods at a certain period, or Mr. Downes tells them the origin of a theme in a Brahms symphony, they are being told historical fact. In addition, they are impressed by Mr. Neale and Mr. Downes personally, as are thousands of people who cannot understand a word they say. Thousands of people, then, write of how they have profited, but write what in reality are personal "fan" letters. They would write these letters no matter what were done—even if it were the correct and valuable thing.

B. H. Haggin.

Washington Notes

Parade of Lame Ducks—Happy Jack Garner—The Next Speaker—Progressives and Democrats—Drafting a Cabinet—Beer Again

IN A FEW more days the final session of the Seventy-second Congress—and probably the last lame-duck session in history—will open. Washington is full of returning statesmen, and it is interesting to note the change in them. I do not want to dwell upon the pathetic figure of the venerable Smoot, who takes his defeat badly and realizes that his long political career will end permanently on March 4. It is more pleasant to write about that cynical pair of good losers and Old Guardsmen, the Honorable Jim Watson of Indiana and the Honorable George Moses of New Hampshire, who are not embittered and are already engaged in plans for returning to the body they love so well. Who can say they will not succeed? The chances all are, I think, that they will. They know the inevitability of the backward swing of the pendulum in the off year, and the value of an early start in taking advantage of it.

At the moment, the Capitol atmosphere is thick with the exuberant exultation of the triumphant Democrats. But of all the exuberant Democrats, the one whose exuberance is most unrestrained and unmistakable is the Honorable John Nance Garner, Vice President-elect, who for three more months will still be Speaker of the House. The great Texas statesman exudes self-satisfaction from every pore. He is so full of joy that he spills it in every direction and on all occasions. Perhaps it is natural, for there have been few men in political history whose promotion in the public service so quickly followed a record so widely condemned. Prior to his nomination his record was both denounced and deplored, justly or unjustly, by nearly every Democratic newspaper in the country; it even found few defenders among the spokesmen of his party.

So conspicuous were his sins of omission and commission supposed to have been that Mr. Garner was practically hidden during the campaign. A professional aide was furnished him by the National Committee to prevent him from making breaks, he was kept off the stump and his campaign utterances consisted of one or two carefully prepared statements read over the radio. The party strategy was to ignore Mr. Garner and avoid mentioning the party record, for which he was blamed, in the last session of Congress. In this strategy Mr. Garner cooperated in the most wholehearted manner. So far from being sensitive at the way they muzzled him, it all seemed a grand joke to the Uvalde hero, and he is today our most triumphant and best pleased politician.

There have been a good many people who from time to time have wondered why a man would want to relinquish as powerful a place as the speakership to occupy the inane and innocuous position of Vice President. Those who understand the man, however, are not puzzled. The explanation is entirely obvious—it suits him better. He was reluctant to bear the burden of leadership, and the necessity of deciding questions upon which he had no real grasp bothered and upset him. He is happier not to have these

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duties. He will make a poor presiding officer of the Senate because he does not know the rules and is not quick at adapting himself, but he will make a better Vice President than he has Speaker.

In the next three months, I have reason to think, he will make no decisions without first conferring with the President-elect. "He's the boss," is the way he expresses his attitude, "and I'm taking orders." He talks, too, about keeping out of the hot fight over his successor to the chair, but I do not believe he means that. On the contrary, there is a general feeling that he is anxious to have Mr. McDuffie of Alabama win the prize and is helping him all he can. McDuffie was, and is, closer to Mr. Garner than any of the other candidates. It was McDuffie whom he made chairman of the special economy committee at the last session and through whom he worked to emasculate the real economies proposed in the committee.

At the moment it is generally agreed that McDuffie will be the caucus nominee and, while he is certainly no flaming ball of fire, nevertheless, when the field is surveyed, he is probably as good as any and undoubtedly better than some —the wild and ranting Rankin, for example. The probabilities are, I think, that it was Mr. Garner who suggested to McDuffie that he take a trip to New York for the purpose of soliciting Boss Curry's support.

It appears now that the rumor concerning the alleged intention of the Senate progressive Republicans to turn over the organization of the Senate to the Democrats at the short session was not well founded. I never thought it was, though it was an interesting idea with which to play and for several days made good copy for the correspondents. There was, however, so little to gain by the change that apparently the suggestion did not take hold.

In the first place, there was no desire on the part of the Democrats to take charge of the Senate until they had their majority to ensure control and their President in the White House to present a program. From their standpoint it would have been a futile proceeding. In the next place, the definite refusal of Senator Borah to join in the plan made its success more than a little doubtful.

As far as I can glean from the Democratic Senate leaders, despite their exultation over the Democratic sweep which has given their party such complete control, there is a decided disposition among them to be moderate and coöperative at the coming session. This is particularly evident in the way they talk of Hoover's economy proposals. It is, of course, too much to expect them to refrain from chiding Mr. Hoover and the Republican party for its willingness to abolish jobs now that they will no longer have the chance to fill them with Republicans. However, it is believed the plan will receive support owing to the fact that the people expect the Democrats to support it and that the abolition of the jobs will lessen the pressure upon the Democratic President and Democratic Senators from the hordes of hungry office seekers after March 4.

It is certain that there will be a determined Democratic and progressive assault upon and investigation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation soon after the session begins. That, my Democratic senatorial friends say, cannot be delayed. There is entirely too much material for attack to let it lie unused for three months and, besides, it is well understood that President-elect Roosevelt intends to reorganize the Board both as to personnel and methods as quickly as he can.

There is a hint that the head of this gigantic governmental agency is the place he has in mind for Alfred E. Smith. It is known that before the Pomerene appointment was made Mr. Smith was sounded out by Hooverian emissaries on the subject, and the belief is that at the time —soon after the Chicago convention—he would have taken it. That he will be offered it now is, of course, just a rumor, and that he would take it is doubted by some of his closest friends here. One of them is authority for the statement that Smith cannot afford to accept any position in Washington at this time, that it would cost him too much to live there and that he is still under the necessity of making money to support his family.

It is an interesting thing to me that every time the name of a conspicuous Democrat is mentioned for a place in the Roosevelt Cabinet some one or other of his supposed intimates pops up with the declaration that his financial condition is such that he could not afford to make the sacrifice. I have been told that repeatedly about Young, about Baker and about Traylor. I might add that, while it has interested me, it has by no means been convincing. It seems to me to mean that these gentlemen cannot afford to accept a mere invitation to enter the Cabinet, but that if it is put before them as a duty to the people in a time of crisis, they will permit themselves to be "drafted."

Reluctant as their friends represent these gentlemen to be in the matter of holding public office, my opinion is that Mr. Roosevelt will not encounter insurmountable difficulties in getting them to serve if he really wants them. Nor am I very greatly impressed by the suggestion that Young would not be confirmed by the Senate because of his Power Trust and Radio Corporation connections and that Baker would be turned down because of his ardent advocacy of the League of Nations and the cancellation of war debts. Neither of them may be asked to become Cabinet members, but either or both will be confirmed if they are. The presidential prestige and the Democratic Senate majority will be so powerful that failure to obtain confirmation of Roosevelt's selections is not to be seriously considered.

And now, just another word about beer. It still absorbs the energies and enthusiasm of the majority of our leaders on both sides. The prospects for success at this session seem to increase as one Dry Senator after another flops over to the Wet side. I am, however, still of the opinion that the chances of beer before March 4 are not even. Last week I expressed the opinion that, if the bill were passed, it was not likely to be vetoed by the retiring President. Developments of the last few days somewhat weaken my confidence in that. The most recent information is that there is a kink in his mind about his duty to prevent the Constitution from being nullified while he is President. Perhaps before the decision has to be made, if it does have to be made by him, he may become disabused of the idea that he is the Supreme Court as well as the President. Let us hope he will.

Washington. T. R. B.

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Not on the Ticker Tape

Getting Round the Glass Bill—Bond Salesmen on the Street—The Rise of Hanauer—Nest Eggs in the Wife's Basket

IRRESPECTIVE of what the paid secretaries of the American Bankers' Association may have said about the alleged undesirability of the Glass banking bill, some of the more important money barons of Wall Street are quietly beginning to get ready for it. The effects, beneficent and otherwise, will have been considerably discounted by some of the larger banks when the bill is passed.

In this connection, it is understood that the security affiliate of a key institution in the financial district has already become quiescent. Instead of continuing to trade through the affiliate, the bank itself has taken over the bond account, and will probably gradually divest itself of holdings likely to be declared ineligible.

Contrary to public belief, Senator Carter Glass is not the author of the provision in his bill to divorce affiliates from banks. That was the idea of the majority of the Senate Banking Committee, not his. He has felt that it would be better to keep the affiliate bound to the national bank, and that it should be subjected to the supervision of the Comptroller of the Currency. The Senator recognizes that ruthless divorce will probably result in the bank's taking out a state charter, whereby it could thus circumvent the restriction against affiliates.

Genuine banking reform will in all probability be frustrated as long as states compete with the federal government in issuing bank charters. More than a year ago Owen D. Young wisely urged a single jurisdiction for banking control, and recently Thomas W. Lamont, the intellectual leader of the House of Morgan, speaking before the Academy of Political Science, advised that all banks be brought under the aegis of the Federal Reserve. Mr. Lamont pointed out that since the depression there have been four and a half times as many failures among non-member banks as among member banks.

The banker could have gone further and demonstrated from current banking statistics that the greater part of the aid administered by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to banks has gone to non-member banks. This means in effect that we have not only had a dual banking system in the United States, but also a dual central banking system. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has acted as a central bank for non-members of the Federal Reserve System.

Hard-boiled Wall Street technicians are wondering how new issues will be handled if security affiliates are divorced from banks. This seems to me an academic question unless the several states, particularly New York State, pass parallel state laws duplicating the terms of the Glass bill. The skeptics in the Street have issued a warning that the legislation will drive investment banking back into the hands of the private bankers, who are still further outside the sphere of social control.

Having been generally unemployed this year, Wall Street houses have continued to cut down personnel. No wonder some of these bankers are so fervid in their appeals for relief of the unemployed! A number of concerns, which formerly not only originated and wholesaled new issues, but which also maintained retail outlets, have gradually withdrawn from the retail field. The Guaranty Trust Company has set the pace in this direction. More recently, Bonbright and Company, bankers for the Electric Bond and Share group and sponsors of the United Corporation, have virtually closed out their retail department and turned loose many men and women who were once bond salesmen.

In the houses which still deal directly with investors, only a skeleton of their selling organization remains. In many instances, the men who have been retained are the nephews or sons-in-law of presidents of insurance companies or savings banks. All bond salesmen have precisely the same merchandise to offer at the same price, and in periods of widespread distress corporate investors, controlling the investment of huge sums of money, are specially anxious to keep their own near relatives closely employed as a by-product. When the head of one of the principal New York savings banks—a man who favored relatives—recently retired, the business of the bank for the first time in many years was opened up to free competition.

At least three important, well advertised bond houses have been crumbling of late, and other alert houses have been able to take over their star personnel at little risk to themselves. Unquestionably, under the surface, far-reaching changes in financial and industrial leadership are in the making.

The retirement from Kuhn, Loeb and Company of Jerome J. Hanauer takes from the financial district one of its most competent technicians. He had a special genius for creating railroad set-ups which would facilitate the marketing of new bonds. In his retirement he could be especially useful as an adviser to President-elect Roosevelt on the railroad problem.

When Hanauer was a boy, his mother asked the late Jacob H. Schiff, head of the Kuhn, Loeb banking firm, for advice concerning a career for her son. Schiff merely said: "Send him to me. I will take care of him." He kept his pledge and Mr. Hanauer retires with substantial wealth.

Mr. Hanauer was so definitely Mr. Schiff's protege that the Street soon began to speculate about motives. Hanauer's father, M. G. Hanauer, a coffee merchant, was a warm friend of Schiff's. According to Wall Street legend, the elder Hanauer lost his fortune in a deal in which Schiff was interested. The story has it that Schiff took young Hanauer under his guidance to make amends for the family's loss. Hanauer entered his employ as an office boy forty-one years ago, at the age of sixteen.

On these dull, inactive days, Wall Street customers' men forgather round the ticker and swap yarns. The favorite story of the week relates to a man who stopped at an Iowa farm to beg for food. The farmer said that he would feed the stranger if he would work the plow for a couple of hours. The uninvited guest said that his skill was not in that direction. He also asked to be excused from cutting a cord of wood. He explained that by trade he was an advertising copywriter. The farmer, duly im-

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pressed, said that if the stranger would prepare an advertisement announcing the farm for sale, he would give him a meal and a ticket out of town. The stranger retired for half an hour to prepare the ad. Then he gave it to the farmer, who read it and asked: "Is this my farm?" "Certainly," the unemployed ad man replied. "Why in hell would I want to sell a farm like this?" the farmer demanded.

Before the panic, it was the vogue for owners of hitherto privately controlled, close corporations to sell out to Wall Street banking houses and to the public. Negotiators frequently cinched deals by appealing to the cupidity of the wives of the principal owners. As long as all the rich man's eggs were in one basket, he would be disinclined to prodigal spending, not wishing to risk depriving his enterprise of needed capital. But by sell-outs he became a free lance and could indulge his wife's fancies for yachts and palatial estates.

One comparatively young but prudent fellow sold out for $3,200,000 about a year before the panic. Knowing the risks of business and investment, he put $1,000,000 in a trust fund in his wife's name. But the uncertainties of life overtook him nevertheless. He lost $2,200,000 in speculative ventures and, when he wanted to lean on his wife's trust fund, she divorced him. L. M. N.

Largely Mr. Lederer

Autumn Crocus, by C. L. Anthony. Morosco Theatre, November 19, 1932.

SEEING "Autumn Crocus," this new British play, I am obliged to reflect how far here in America we can be from that "precious gem set in a silver sea." I myself, descended, some several hundred years it is true, out of the British Isles, not unfamiliar with its serious literature, serious drama, and with its humor, in which last it so far surpasses anything we have produced in America, am still baffled when its humor drops to the coy as its brain drops to rock gardens and the yellow daffodil. It is there that I fail to respond to an English inclination: I mean the willingness of the intelligent English to endure the stuff of the unintelligent when we come to love knots and diverse other tangles in Naera's hair. Is it the release from property considerations or is it the defect of a truly poetic virtue? I might let it go with St. Paul, who said brethren we are of one flesh, and so assert that scratch an Englishman and you will find a sort of frowsy ballad. This I know is not all true. Scratch an Englishman and you find now great distinction, charm and loyalty, delicious, elastic humor such as nowhere else you find in the world; or now an imbecility that would be all flat but for its greed for pleasure; or now, what puzzles me most of all, that quality set forth in the list of characters for the "Autumn Crocus" program. Why in the world, asks a simple American, should the program for "Autumn Crocus" be set down as it is? If the play is somewhat thin in texture—which God knows it is—and the speeches are to be imagined in the responsive mind rather than found in the script, the fact remains that it has brought forth in an artist like Mr. Francis Lederer such reactions as make a very beautiful and fine performance. Why, then, could any race be titillated by so silly a *dramatis personae* as "The Gentleman in Gay Braces," "The Lady in Buttoned Boots," "The Lady with the Lost Underclothes," "The Lady with the Baedeker," and so on? Is it only, in the words of the Browning parody (All was dark In the ark Not a spark), Just God's fun?

In spite, nevertheless, of this tosh in the program, this kittenish example of that British softness that to simple Anglo-Saxon souls has made so many civilized conceptions seem hard and even logical, the play itself of "Autumn Crocus" is not entirely empty. It should blush, though, at times in the presence of Miss Patricia Collinge's convincing and gently dramatic rendering of that lovely, pinched schoolmistress, confronted at last, though too late perhaps for action, with good weather, frank emotion and an unmuddled reaction to life. It should be overwhelmed at arousing in an actor like Mr. Lederer so beautiful and fine a directness, humanity and naturalness, all of which is so pure and so perfectly realized in his portrayal of the innkeeper that one shudders to think what treacle would have come from the usual actor if cast for such a part. Chance after chance for interesting lines and reactions are lost by the author or, it would be better to say perhaps, not suspected. That duet of free-loving scenes of the theoretical lovers, for instance, comes almost to nothing so far as the happy possibilities of thought or satire are concerned: there is very little to feed the bad acting of Mr. Lowell Gilmore or the witty maneuvers of Miss Patricia Calvert. Whoever (it may be Miss Eda Heinemann) is set down as the "Lady with the Baedeker," plays extremely well the friend of the little schoolmistress. The Thirsty Lady and The Thirsty Gentleman I am obliged to take as Miss Margaret Arrow and Mr. Robert C. Fischer; at any rate we saw played most agreeably this German couple climbing mountains from whose magnificence beer was such a rest. Miss Minna Phillips as the lady who had crawled, climbed and slid up and down a mountain was good fun.

Apropos of British sentimental evasion, could it be that the universe is still a little foolish about itself, shy or skittish as to logic, deaf to the humanly argued harmony and order of the spheres? Could it be, as I have at times seriously asked myself, that a part of the Anglo-Saxon's strength consists in the fact that his chaos is germane to the universal chaos, and that his never having made up his mind to stand by logic, clarity or distinction has ensured and endeared him to a cosmos that still baffles both us and, perhaps, itself? At any rate, so far as we know, the universe as yet may consist of loose conclusions; and King George's and Queen Mary's may be closer to it than Professor Einstein's are. This might even be a reason for England's being a country whose drama has a shimmering, cosmic possibility, a foolish or bold divinity, that could yield great things.

Well, the great thing yielded by "Autumn Crocus" has to do more with one artist than with this particular play. The great thing is Mr. Francis Lederer. One can almost feel that such an actor could recreate the royal postcards that Buckingham Palace and Mr. Raphael Tuck every year emit. At any rate Mr. Lederer, from this not unpleasant, semi-modern play, now alive, now fanned by the actor's own private labors as it were, has registered a response that

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leads him to create a beautiful part, technically secure, rendered without a touch of music hall or stale pathos, perfectly graded, saved from every hint of the false, and always freshened into theatre. One shudders to think of such an actor in this role as Mr. Ivor Novello, for example, with his determined profile, or of many other native London favorites, with their difference geographically, ethnologically, technically and artistically from Mr. Lederer. We cannot judge from the performance of a single role. But it is clear that nothing could be more unfortunate for him, or so stultifying for us, as to set Mr. Lederer down as a mere matinee idol, which will be sure to be tried as a time-saving box-office device.

I have already heard comparisons of Mr. Lederer with Mr. John Barrymore in his early days. Nothing could be more misleading. I am aware of Mr. Barrymore's instinct for style, his intelligence varied with a lack of any sound education, his amount of magnetism combined with certain inherited advantages and certain journalistic prepossessions or hysterics in his favor. I am also aware of his decline into a quality in the talkies of which the less said the better. Of Mr. Lederer's elements of style I cannot judge, since I have seen him in only this rather realistic or stylistically simplified role. Otherwise he has a fluency that Mr. Barrymore never had, a certain gift, also, of freshness in his attack, of rapport with the player opposite him. What he does as the young innkeeper in "Autumn Crocus" —the story, by the way, of a group of English people in the Tyrol, among them a little schoolteacher who falls in love with the host as he does with her, though she goes on her way at the last moment—is one of those performances that might easily run to the banal, the slushy, the sexy or the nature-against-civilization theme. It is none of these, but is constantly realized, direct and inventive, gently felt and achieved with finality and sweetness. There is a character about it of a sort of pious faun, the child of Pan, free of social bonds, but freed not so much by anarchy as by a simple and direct faith in the truth of the heart. Mr. Lederer's performance in "Autumn Crocus" is one of those performances from time to time in the theatre about which much will be said and on which many rather sultry, rash or fetid repressions will be loosed. This will serve only to confound the point of his playing, which rests on a great balance of technical fluency and open spirit, braced beyond any folly by an easy and profound poetic conception expressed with complete sincerity, study for nuance, and the very happiest rhythm.

To lessen our surprise and endorse our pleasure in such playing as Mr. Lederer's in a piece like "Autumn Crocus," it can do no harm to say that the broad German accent is assumed for the occasion and, also, that he has played in Continental theatres something between two and three hundred roles; in such dramas, for example, as Schiller's "Don Carlos," Euripides' "Oedipus Rex," Shaw's "Androcles and the Lion" and "Man and Superman," Ben Jonson's "Volpone" (both in German and English), plays by Romain Rolland, Goethe, George Kayser, Noel Coward, Somerset Maugham, Kleist, Zuchmayer, Schnitzler and others, not to mention various films; and, among many, in such roles as Romeo in the Reinhardt production, Hippolytus in Racine's "Phædra," the "Othello" Cassius, and Laertes.

STARK YOUNG.

CORRESPONDENCE

In Defense of Academic Freedom

SIR: During recent months a series of interferences with student freedom of expression and activity has occurred in a number of institutions of higher learning in New York City. Many people have been shocked by an administration attitude so at variance with the desires of students that college authorities have brought city police into college rooms to break up student meetings. Students have been conducting a vigorous campaign in defense of their rights.

These conditions and incidents, plus the fact that the mayor-elect has announced his intention of initiating a drive of suppression against all teachers and students in municipal institutions who do not accept his political dogmas, have stimulated a group of publicists, educators and students to unite in order to safeguard student freedom. They have issued a call for a Conference on Students' Rights, to be held in the Horace Mann Auditorium of Teachers' College, One Hundred and Twentieth Street and Broadway, Saturday, December 3. There will be two sessions, at 2 and 8:30 P. M. All students and teachers in public and private institutions of higher learning in New York City are invited to attend.

Among the signers of the call are Roger Baldwin, Professor George S. Counts, Elliot E. Cohen, Dr. John Dewey, Waldo Frank, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Professor Sidney Hook, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, Professor Mark Van Doren and Professor Harry F. Ward.

HERBERT SOLOW, Secretary,
Committee for the Conference on Students' Rights.
New York City.

The Scottsboro Decision

SIR: In your issue of November 16 is an editorial on the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Scottsboro case. Every statement in the editorial is based on such gross misrepresentation of facts, which are certainly known to the editor of The New Republic, that its appearance must lend comfort to the white ruling class bent upon legally lynching the Scottsboro boys.

A few of the points in which there is direct misrepresentation are:

1. With apparent deliberation you ignore the role played in the case by the mass pressure and protest of the workers of the world, without which you would probably never have heard of the case, and without which the hand of the legal lynchers would not have been stayed so far. That it was this mass pressure which wrung the granting of a new trial from the United States Supreme Court is evident from examination of the decision, which shows that it was made unwillingly, based upon a technicality and drawn so as to be in effect a set of instructions to Southern courts on how legally to lynch Negroes without Supreme Court interference. In effect the decision, as even Felix Frankfurter has grudgingly admitted, tells the courts that so long as they give defendants opportunity to obtain counsel, the Supreme Court will not interfere, whatever the "miscarriage of justice" involved.

2. You minimize the struggle which lies ahead for the workers of the world and the International Labor Defense, by suggesting without the slightest justification that a new trial will never be held. Such a statement clearly aids the lynchers in their effort to stifle the worldwide protests. At this stage of the case it can serve no other purpose. Judge E. A. Hawkins, who directed the original mock trial and obtained the lynch verdicts, immediately upon release of the decision announced he would set the new trials for the next term of his court, March, 1933. The I. L. D. having announced that it would seek a change of venue, the authorities have indicated that they would oppose it. In a lynch-inciting statement Judge Hawkins on November 8 said that now more than ever he would feel it necessary to call the military to assist at the trial. The Alabama newspapers are flooded with lynch-inciting editorials on the case. One such, from Huntsville, calls for the immediate organization of vigilantes to keep "Communists"

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out of town should change of venue bring the case there. The state is even keeping the boys in the death cells of Kilby Prison, though they are now theoretically presumed innocent.

3. Scottsboro is not an isolated case, as your editorial directly implies in calling it an "appalling miscarriage of justice." It is, on the contrary, typical of Southern and capitalist "justice" at its highest development. The constant recurrence of such cases proves that they are part of a system.

4. You refer to the decision in the Arkansas riots case of 1919, implying that the Supreme Court took into account the fact that it was impossible for the boys to obtain a fair trial in the lynch atmosphere of Scottsboro. On the contrary, the decision specifically sweeps aside this fact as of no material weight. The effect of this decision may in fact be that of setting a precedent for ignoring the Arkansas riots decision, which will, if it is followed, be in itself a serious blow at Negro rights.

The I. L. D. is now faced with one of its greatest tasks in obtaining the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. The organization of the opposing forces of oppression is being constantly strengthened, and every misrepresentation of the case, your editorial for example, is a contribution to these forces.

LOUIS COLMAN,
Director Publicity Department,
International Labor Defense.

New York City.

Newman, Rosenfeld and Haggin

SIR: Mr. Paul Rosenfeld in "Contra Ernest Newman," [The New Republic, October 19] quotes my criticism of him, and then says that in my WEVD talk I made use of ideas supplied me by Ernest Newman. The impression most readers will get is that I supported my criticism of Mr. Rosenfeld with the ideas of Newman. But the fact is that I supported it with reasoning and evidence of my own. That is, I cited and discussed two examples of Mr. Rosenfeld's writing in The New Republic. These dealt with works that I had myself heard; and I was, therefore, qualified to discuss them. By omitting this material Mr. Rosenfeld escapes having to deal with it. Also, pointedly to ignore me and address himself to Newman is one subtle way of saying that I am only a disciple of Newman, and as such negligible. Another subtle way is to worry about the possible effect of Newman's ideas on inexperienced, bewildered people: already, says Mr. Rosenfeld, they have misled me. I cannot give all the examples of this sort of thing; and some of them defy description: one has to read the article in conjunction with my talk.

Mr. Rosenfeld uses the same tactics with his peer. He points out that even Newman is capable of error: under cover of an "If I remember correctly" he gives Newman's views on Strauss incorrectly. Newman did not dismiss "Don Quixote" and "Sinfonia Domestica" in favor of "Don Juan" and "Tod und Verklärung"; he said that "Sinfonia Domestica" was greatly inferior to the preceding tone poems, including "Don Quixote," which he considered Strauss's finest work. Mr. Rosenfeld's subtlety lies in the fact that Newman was right, and that Mr. Rosenfeld has expressed the same opinion (The Musical Chronicle, page 215).

And in addition he suppresses Newman's case almost entirely—not only some of the contentions, but the support for these contentions which Newman derived from investigation of the instances in which great composers were supposed to have encountered the neglect or hostility of their contemporaries. As a result, Mr. Rosenfeld is able to introduce material which Newman has disposed of; to deny what Newman did not affirm; to insist upon what Newman admitted; and so on. Here I can give only one rather crude example. Newman discovered that much of the opposition had come from theoreticians; he explained why their opposition was negligible; and he included them among the group whose hostility to Wagner he contrasted with the enormous enthusiasm of the German musical public. Mr. Rosenfeld omits all this; and cites (1) the unfavorable opinion of one of the theoreticians, and (2) the attitude of the French man in the street.

My criticism of Mr. Rosenfeld was incidental to a discussion of a question which must be of interest to many New Republic readers. Mr. Rosenfeld, on the contrary, is concerned primarily with personal ends—highly improper personal ends—to which he sacrifices clarification of the issue for your readers. Those who wish to know the side he has suppressed and misrepresented will find the substance of my WEVD talk in the January issue of The Hound and Horn. When they have read it they will be able to appreciate more fully the nature of Mr. Rosenfeld's performance.

New York City. B. H. HAGGIN.

SIR: Mr. Haggin's positive ascription of genuineness to his wild and by no means inevitable inference that, when I wrote "if I remember correctly," I was feigning a dependency upon my memory for the facts of Mr. Newman's career in order to provide myself with an opportunity to misrepresent them, appears to me to border upon the morbid. The simple truth is that when I took issue with foolish ideas of Mr. Newman approvingly quoted in Mr. Haggin's radio address, I was in the country, without access to a library containing the British critic's works, and aware that about 1905 Mr. Newman had called Strauss "a clever man who was once a genius." What made me presume that the attribution of "cleverness" was directed to all the tone-poems subsequent to "Also Sprach Zarathustra," was another recollection of a passage, in Mr. Newman's early booklet on Strauss, comparing these later works to prose and the preceding ones to poetry. But I took care to qualify my statement about the Newman verdict of Strauss with the remark that my picture of it was the picture presented to me by my memory. Since my return to New York, I have found that the celebrated phrase of 1905 actually runs "the 'Symphonia Domestica' is the work of an enormously clever man who was once a genius." But even in its actual form, it amply makes my point that, like the rest of us, Mr. Newman has a tendency to err. If "Tod und Verklärung" is a work of genius, then so is the "Symphonia." And Strauss at the time still had "Elektra" and "Der Rosenkavalier" to give.

New York City. PAUL ROSENFELD.

An Appeal for Books

SIR: North Carolina Textile workers have shown an interest in reading and forming study groups, but they can't buy books with their wages of from $2.50 to $5 per week.

In order that they might be able to study, a circulating library has been started. Several persons have already sent books and magazines. We need many more. Those wishing to send any labor plays, books, poems, etc., for use in workers' study groups may send them to me at 512 Willard Street, Durham, North Carolina.

Durham, N. C. BEULAH CARTER.

Funds for Brookwood Labor College

SIR: An educational institution which is doing pioneer work in new lines is likely to be one which has a peculiarly close relation to contemporary conditions and needs. It is also likely to lack the endowment and financial support possessed by institutions that operate along more traditional lines. Both of these probabilities meet in the case of Brookwood, the representative school for training of men and women from the ranks of labor to work in the field of labor. It is the unfortunate lot of these institutions to suffer most at the very time when their services are most needed. Accordingly it is society which suffers from any threat to the continued efficiency of such institutions. We cannot believe that a public which recognizes the important service rendered by Brookwood Labor College and the pressing need which there is for extension rather than for contraction of its services will permit Brookwood to be crippled. As one of a large number of educators, religious leaders, publicists, economists, social workers and labor leaders, I am making an appeal for contribution of funds. Ten thousand dollars is imperatively needed in a short time. Pledges may be sent direct to A. J. Muste at Katonah, New York.

Attention is also called to the Brookwood Bazaar given at the Irving Plaza on December 2-4. This Bazaar is conducted by Brookwood graduates. The loyal devotion of Brookwood graduates is one of the best evidences of the success of the Labor College in carrying out its aims.

New York City. JOHN DEWEY.

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Mooney, Billings and Mankind

What Happened in the Mooney Case, by Ernest Jerome Hopkins. New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam (Harcourt, Brace and Company). 271 pages. $2.50.

The Suppressed Mooney-Billings Report. Submitted to the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement by the Section on Lawless Enforcement of the Law. Consultants: Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Walter H. Pollak, Carl S. Stern; Assistant: Thomas A. Halleran. New York: Gotham House. 243 pages. $1.50.

ONE of these books is a legal analysis, the other a dramatic synthesis, of the strange proceedings whereby Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings were made scapegoats for the bombing of the San Francisco preparedness parade on July 22, 1916.

The Report was prepared for the Wickersham Commission, then withheld by that body from official publication. Progressives in California, speaking of this suppression, persist in pointing out, irrelevant though it may be, that the President of the United States who appointed the Wickersham Commission went to college with Fickert, prosecutor of Mooney and Billings, and was manager of the football team on which Fickert played. Certainly it is true that throughout the prosecution Fickert is shown in this Report to have accepted the suggestions of Martin Swanson, private detective for the big public-utility interests of California with which that President has always been friendly.

Mr. Hopkins, author of the able book which he rightly calls a "battle-picture," was a field investigator for the section of the Wickersham Commission which prepared the suppressed analysis. He was a newspaper man in San Francisco when the bombing occurred, and reported the trial of Billings. His book is a careful and interesting account of the case; it is the work of a trained observer who came into personal contact with every important figure in the controversy.

The lawyerlike sedateness of the Report and the vivid dramatization of Mr. Hopkins' book combine to give the reader an overwhelming realization of the extent to which Mooney and Billings have been wronged. The reader is made aware of the prosecution's unscrupulous brutality, the eagerness of a majority of the California Supreme Court to connive at keeping innocent men in the penitentiary and the political cowardice of a succession of shambling Governors who evaded the opportunity to use the pardoning power for the righting of a great wrong.

The very calmness of the Report drives home the more effectively the character of the conspiracy to convict men known to be innocent of which Fickert and his assistant Cunha stand accused—as when, on page 123, the Report declares: "It is submitted that the conduct of the District Attorney did not conform to the standards of duty which the quality of his office imposed." Note, too, the quiet verdict on Fickert's permitting the entire case to be "framed" by Martin Swanson, detective for the public-utility interests which hated Mooney and the other defendants: "Taking the circumstances as a whole, we think that the District Attorney's uncritical acceptance of Swanson's theory which implicated persons with whom Swanson had been at odds—and implicated no others—showed a lack of appreciation of the quasi-judicial nature of the prosecutor's office." What a pair! Fickert the blathering "chief," and Cunha his assistant who said flatly in 1917: "They're a bunch of dirty anarchists, every one of them, and ought to be in jail on general principles. If I knew that every single witness who testified against Mooney had perjured himself in his testimony, I would not lift a finger to get him a new trial."

Both the Report and Mr. Hopkins' survey indicate clearly that the prosecutors did know, too, that every witness for the prosecution was a perjurer. Says the Report, page 185: "Summing up the whole problem with regard to witnesses produced at the trial, and the character of their testimony, we find that the basic witnesses to events occurring in broad daylight, in or near crowded streets, were these and these only: McDonald, a syphilitic, and 'psychopathic liar'; Crowley, a syphilitic whose testimony when defending himself unsuccessfully against prosecution, was condemned by the judge who tried his case; Oxman, who testified falsely, and who signed letters whose clear effect was to induce another to do the same thing; Mrs. Edeau, who was a victim of hallucinations, and whose testimony was demonstrably false; Sadie Edeau, whose testimony followed her mother's, and falls with it; Estelle Smith, a prostitute with a police record." Moreover, the Report, Mr. Hopkins and Judge Franklin A. Griffin, before whom the Mooney case was tried, agree that the prosecutors deliberately introduced perjury into the record. Judge Griffin, who has long been demanding a new trial for Mooney, is quoted: "Not only did these four witnesses (Oxman, McDonald and the Edeaus) perjure themselves, but the disclosures since Mooney's trial point almost conclusively to the fact that they were produced as witnesses with knowledge that their testimony was false."

No wonder that James Brennan, Fickert's assistant in the Billings trial, later said publicly: "Had I been a juror sitting in the case, and heard the evidence which I myself presented, I could not and would not have voted for Billings' conviction." How fantastic is the prejudice of citizens opposing Billings' release after that!

Surely, however, the majority justices of the California Supreme Court win the prize for possession of the longest ears and the most fascinating bray in all this circus corral. Six of them, sitting in supposedly calm review of the case after the defendants had been in prison for fifteen years, heard the unregenerate Cunha shout: "So far as I was concerned, I wasn't worrying about the direct witnesses at all. I was satisfied Mr. Mooney should be convicted upon his activities alone." Also they heard the witness McDonald retract his perjuries, screaming that his testimony was "all lies." Thereupon they signed a declaration concerning McDonald that "a more abject spectacle of debased and degenerated manhood was never before presented"; yet, at the same time, as the Report points out, "they felt that his character might have been different in 1916 and they were, therefore, not disposed after the long lapse of time to depart from their previous holding that Billings had failed affirmatively to show his innocence of the charge against him." If you testify against Mooney and Billings, you are telling the truth; if you testify for them, you are a liar: such is the court-made law of California.

A strange and terrible tale, and in both these books it is unfolded with deadly calmness and precision. The reader of them grows toward some understanding of the infinitely humorous patience with which Fremont Older, after years of struggle in this case, always speaks of the misdeeds of men, women and Supreme Court justices: "Well, they're human, aren't they? What else can you expect?" He is right: the *dramatis personae* of this tragedy are Mooney, Billings and that fantastic thing, mankind.

R. L. BURGESS.

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Mainsprings of Character

The Ironic Temper: Anatole France and His Times, by Haakon M. Chevalier. New York: Oxford University Press. 297 pages. $3.50.

IN SEEKING a key term for the pattern of thought underlying the works of Anatole France, Mr. Chevalier holds that an insistence upon France's irony as a central fact makes possible "an organic account of the contradictory elements in the man himself." By his interpretation, not only was France ripe for irony, but the times were ripe for irony. That is: France's irony is "explained" as a pattern peculiar to the author as a person, manifesting itself in emergent forms long before he could have accurately gauged the issues of the day; yet the issues of the day were also such as to encourage an ironic stressing. Hence France, like a kind of Leibnitzian monad, could be obeying wide social patterns while obeying his own. This lock-and-key fit between a society naturally making for ironists and a man with many traits of character naturally making for irony resulted in a writer who, subjective, personal, impressionistic, concerning himself with his own particularities of experience, became a popular writer symbolizing trends of thought and feeling which ran through the entire reading public of his day.

Mr. Chevalier's documentation seems to me thoroughly convincing. It is no accident that irony was brought up for deep consideration by the romantics at the beginning of the nineteenth century and became an attribute of many lively writers as the century progressed. His remarks on the nature of irony enable us to understand why the nineteenth century, of all centuries, a century inferior in great drama, should be concerned with a device so integral to drama. As Mr. Chevalier points out, dramatic irony arises from a relationship between the audience and the play. The audience knows that certain tragic events are destined to take place. It also hears some figure on the stage boasting of the good times to come. And in the audience, as *spectator,* arises dramatic irony. The audience is powerless to affect the course of events; at the same time, its sympathy for the characters makes it long to alter the course of events—and this divided attitude, a sense of being *with* the people as regards one's sympathies but *aloof* as regards one's ability to forestall the movements of destiny, this awareness of a breach between one's desires and one's understanding, this is ironic.

Hence it becomes clear why the nineteenth century, of all centuries, reapplied irony by transferring the spectator attitude from the audience to the writer. Hence the irony of men like Renan, France, Henry James. Here was a century in which the men of intellect saw the people headed eagerly towards so many ambitions which these men despised. Feeling that the authority of this movement was irresistible, yet having always a strong desire to change the course of events if they could, they became *spectators,* with the divided, ironic attitude that comes of seeing people headed with confidence towards desolate ends.

The ironic attitude was complicated by the dual position which science played in the life of the century. In the speculations of pure science there was everything which a lover of the "esthetic" could admire: enterprise, independence, spiritedness, imaginativeness, critical keenness. Applied science on the other hand (the adventurous speculations harnessed for business purposes) seemed to make for the very opposite type of mind, with more and more demands upon our acquiescence, our obedient repeating of such parrotlike things as one says to a parrot, our loss of fluid, physical, "earthy" living, our development of cogwheel thoughts to match the cogwheel methods of production. This was cause enough for irony: a sense that the most brilliant aspects of human thought were being steadily converted, by men of a different order, into human impoverishments. The situation was further complicated by the fact that pure science had robbed the social critics of a stable basis upon which they might erect a system of protest, such completely relativistic sciences as psychology and anthropology having destroyed the underpinnings of absolute judgment. Only those who remained staunch Catholics were able to write sturdy invective. They could still base their thunderings upon the old ideology of horrors, thus deriving "strength," but the "new men" had weakened: they could not say, "It is wrong in the eyes of God," nor even, "It is wrong in the eyes of human justice," but simply, "I do not like it." Thus, pure science had not merely put them in a divided attitude as the result of its harsh commercial application; it had also impaired the authoritative, "metaphysical" judgments upon which they could frame an attack against this harsh commercial application. Hence their complaints about the "disillusionment" of science—complaints, be it noted, which never turned them against scientific speculation, for as men of spirit they were necessarily vowed to breadth of inquiry, regardless of where it led.

There was a strong attempt to avoid their dilemmas by making ethics a branch of esthetics. As a matter of fact, the criteria of the beautiful were as fundamentally impaired as the criteria of the good. But ethical crumblings were naturally more noticeable, so a definition of goodness as a subdivision of the beautiful seemed to point in the direction of an area still partially intact. This was, I believe, a move in the right direction, and might eventually have led to such a biologic or psychologic basis of judgment as, "It is wrong because it outrages needs of the mind and body, because it interferes with the felicitous working of the human organism." As a matter of fact, however, all that it did generally lead to was an ultimate realization that beauty also was relative, so at the close of the century this double frustration was in evidence: applied science driving the world towards ways of living and thinking which required the elimination of many past amenities; and pure science having corroded the basis of judgment upon which the disorders of applied science could be attacked.

Mr. Chevalier clearly shows Anatole France at the center of these issues. He shows how certain personal elements, of indolence, of irresponsibility, permitted him to stress this ironic, spectator attitude to the limits, allowing him to remain at home (as regards his page) in these many contradictions, inducing him to live by an "as if" philosophy which could restore the classic amenities once more by permitting oneself on paper to feel "as if" they were still with us, and yet grew apologetic at the awareness of its own subterfuge.

It is customary today to be repelled by the thought of this spectator attitude. There are no spectators. All men, though they have done no more for a living than to exhaust themselves by clipping coupons, are a-tremble. There is no haven, no elevation above the century, from which one can look out calmly upon the hideous Manichean battles that are to be fought between the principle of goodness and the principle of evil during the next decades. So it can be made to seem that there was something cold, something unfeeling, in the ironic temper. Yet whatever else we may hold against it, we must dismiss this charge entirely.

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As Mr. Chevalier very pointedly says of France in his closing summation:

> That which he expressed—often with profound sophistication—was the naïve, the fresh, the immature approach to experience, the first contacts with life, the budding emotions, the tentative intellectual discoveries that each youth must make anew. Life remains for him always clothed with mystery and enchantment, fraught with danger. It is an ecstatic youth's vision of life, even when his reactions are those of a disabused old man. . . . Some of the most appealing human traits are magically evoked—tenderness, compassion, and childlike wonder, a perpetual fresh surprise before objects of beauty and grandeur.

For all his guise of "complexity," France managed all this by a very simplified kind of poetry. He wrote his books on the top of other books, that his might share the quality of theirs; he found that by "scribbling upon the margins of books," he could restore for us some of the gentler existences out of which these other books had arisen. Like an archeologist, he found a calm Atlantis, which had heaved a huge geologic sigh and sunk slowly to the bottom of the sea, where it now lay, its temples still standing, its marbles posturing, and mournful fishes peering upon these dead splendors. It is not the most "usable" attitude for today—neither is it an attitude which could be dismissed from the mind without great loss. KENNETH BURKE.

"Grind My Bones"

To Make My Bread, by Grace Lumpkin. New York: The Macaulay Company. $2.

FOR YEARS Northern capital had been invited to come South to "avoid labor troubles" among "100-percent docile American labor." In the spring of 1929 the textile workers of the South turned on the "stretch-out" system. There followed strikes in over a score of towns and in four states. A number of these strikes were self-led, without benefit of outside unions. The hill people, still living ideologically in the eighteenth century, expecting long hours and small pay, finally revolted when their work was increased and their wages were shaved away to the starvation point.

Since the revolt of the textile workers, at Marion, Gastonia and elsewhere, there have been several books about this hitherto almost unknown social group. The latest one and, to my mind, in many respects the best, is Grace Lumpkin's "To Make My Bread." With a wide and quiet sweep the author describes the displacement of a hill population into mill and factory towns. She tells through what chicanery the hill people were taken from their meager corn patches and catapulted into modern industrial life. With fidelity, without sentimentality, she portrays the hard life of the mountains, the desire of Grandpap Kirkland to put a real glass window in the lean-to, and his daughter Emma McClure's shocked resentment that money needed for food should be spent this way. Grandpap's moonshining, the frightful winter when the McClure family in their mountain hut almost starved, the rare merrymakings, the revivals, the drama of the loves and hates, the desperate poverty, all are told with tenderness and breadth.

While Grandpap Kirkland is in jail for moonshining, Emma is tricked out of her land by the storekeeper, the agent for the lumber company. The whole community has been similarly tricked. Emma and her children Bonnie

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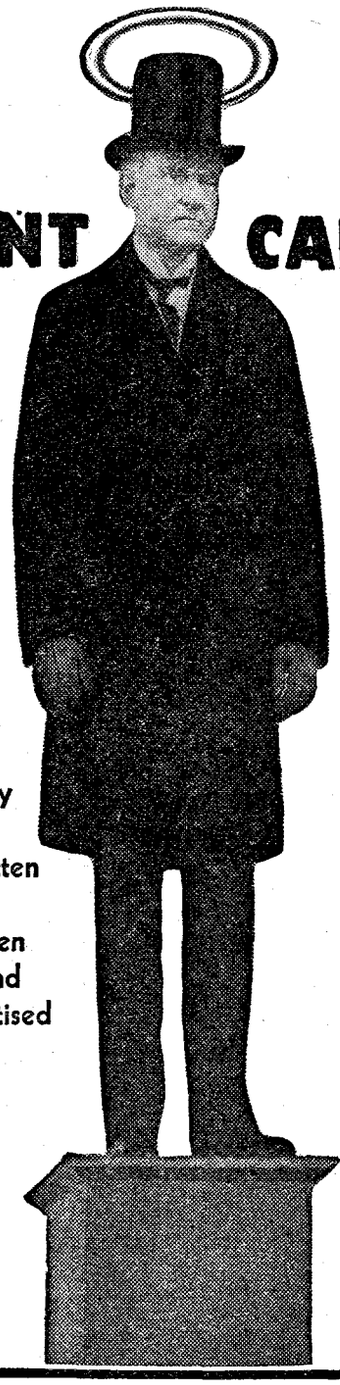

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and John, and Grandpap, have no resources but to go down to the mills. Their minds are full of extravagant promises of wealth, of houses with glass windows and real cookstoves, of schools for the children. They find instead long hours, killing labor, pellagra, debt. They are caught in the lockstep of industrial life. Emma McClure dies of pellagra. Grandpap, proud and fearless, loses his pride and becomes subservient. The stretch-out comes. Bonnie and John, now grown up and married with children of their own who, they see, will be presently fed into the mills, have the lessons of revolution driven into them by the irresistible flow of events. I know of no better story, told always without exaggeration, than the development of John McClure from a boy of the hills to a revolutionary workman.

The book has a wide, almost epic scope. It is unsentimental and close to life. The disappointments of the mill village, the gradual crushing of the McClure family, Grandpap's desire to return to the land and his failure, are moving and real. Real and inevitable is the oncoming of the strike; and yet it seems to me that the least successful pages are those describing the strike itself—which is modeled upon Gastonia.

Bonnie McClure, now deserted by her husband, becomes the "singing woman" who cheers on the strikers and is at last murdered by thugs. The songs she is supposed to make up are actually those of Ella May Wiggin, shot to death in May, 1929. The story ends with Bonnie's funeral. It is hard to say why the strike is somewhat less convincing than the chapters dealing with the mill village or with life in the mountains; or why Kirk's death in the mountains before his family moved and his mother's cry of "Ain't it a pity! Oh, ain't it a pity!" is more moving than Bonnie's death. The book, however, has a wide, inevitable rhythm. It takes in its comprehensive sweep the whole flow of a primitive mountain people, through hope, disillusion, to an inevitable revolutionary standpoint. "To Make My Bread" is a beautiful and sincere novel, outstanding among the proletarian books of today.

MARY HEATON VORSE.

How Workers Live in Russia

The Soviet Worker, by Joseph Freeman. New York: Liveright, Inc. 408 pages. $2.50.

MR. FREEMAN'S volume is a full-length study of what is being done for and by the wage earner in the Soviet Union. Such a study is singularly useful for two reasons: first, the success or failure of the Russian Revolution will be measured, ultimately, in terms of the changes in the economic and social status of the worker—and of the peasant; second, the type of labor relations existing in Russia will influence—and does influence—workers and labor movements in capitalist countries.

The first three chapters of "The Soviet Worker" are devoted to an account of the growth of industry and the condition of the working class under Tsardom, and to an exposition of the development and nature of Soviet economy. Against this background, Mr. Freeman proceeds, with a wealth of statistical data, to examine the position of the worker in Soviet industry and Soviet life. His discussion ranges from trade unions to cultural activities, and includes such topics as wages, hours and labor productivity, socialized wages, social legislation, problems of distribution and consumption, the bogey of "forced" labor, and labor plan-

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ning as part of the larger coördination of economic processes. Most of this material is familiar in outline to those who have kept in touch with Soviet affairs; Mr. Freeman, however, has filled in the outline with a vast amount of factual detail, and his volume is a genuine contribution to our knowledge of Russia's drive toward socialism.

The worker has undoubtedly made decisive social and cultural gains since the Revolution. Through the trade unions, the Communist party and the local, federal and national governing bodies, he can make his voice heard in the formation of policies and programs. For the first time, furthermore, the doors of education and culture have been opened to him. His position has improved economically, and the rate of this improvement should increase when the base for industrialization has been securely laid. If we take two familiar measures of economic well-being, real wages and hours of labor, this improvement, relative to 1913, may be clearly seen. Mr. Freeman claims that real wages, including "socialized" wages such as social insurance, low and free rent and the like, were 69 percent above the pre-war average in 1929 and, at the end of 1931, were estimated at double the pre-war figure. Even if, as Professor Calvin B. Hoover thinks, Soviet statistics of real wages are too high, there has been a notable advance. The Soviet work day is the shortest in the world; the average working day of all Russian factory and mine workers was 9.87 hours in 1913 and 7.02 hours in 1931. In addition, the Soviet worker is protected at every point in relation to his job by a comprehensive national labor code, enforced by the trade unions and the courts.

Mr. Freeman does not attempt to glide over the many problems faced by Soviet economy. He emphasizes, in particular, the problems of low labor productivity and high labor turnover, the lack of capital equipment, and the inadequate and inefficient systems of distribution. The realism and creativeness of Soviet technique are illustrated by the shifts and turns which have been taken to conquer these difficulties.

There are criticisms which can be made of the book. "In carrying out the policy of increased incentives," writes Mr. Freeman, "a general increase in wages by 30 percent was instituted on October 1, 1931." Now this is a tremendous increase for any national economy, socialist or capitalist, to make at one time. I should like to know how it was done, but Mr. Freeman does not say. This illustrates a certain trustfulness in the handling of statistical data which I suspect is not altogether warranted. In his discussion of the trade unions, Mr. Freeman writes that their first function is to enforce labor discipline and, in general, to work for economic expansion. This is certainly a legitimate function in a socialized economy. Their second function, he says, is "to defend the workers' interests against possible bureaucratic misconstruction of policies." But he does not make clear the limits to which this defense may go. Some illustrations of actual cases here, as elsewhere in the book, would have made the volume more vivid and real. Again, it seems to me, he tends to avoid discussion of the role of the dictatorship.

These things aside, Mr. Freeman has presented an impressive record of the advances which have been made by the workers since the Revolution, and of the part they play in the building of a new civilization. Progress seems likely to continue. The achievements of the Soviet worker and Soviet economy will have repercussions on the labor movements in capitalist lands. The Soviet Union is a going concern. In a world of unemployment and want, it is rapidly eliminating the insecurities and oppressions

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which crush the workers in other countries. It is providing a huge laboratory for economic and social experimentation. Its example should give force to the demand of workers' movements for wider measures of social control of economic processes, a demand in evidence even in the United States. I do not mean, for example, that in this country we shall duplicate the Russian pattern. I do mean that our dominant labor movement will find it increasingly difficult to ignore what is going on in the Soviet Union, and that in the fight for an economic system in harmony with the needs of the workers Russia will have much to teach.

H. M. Douty.

Book Notes

Biography and Memoirs

FRANK NORRIS: A Biography, by Franklin Walker. *New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 317 pages. $3.*

Though for at least ten years critics have been pointing out the need for a biography of Frank Norris, Mr. Walker's book is the first venture, and it goes far to explain why the need has not been previously filled. Norris's life was short; most of his letters and papers were destroyed in the San Francisco fire; not many of his friends survive and those who do are widely scattered. Thus it happens that, though Mr. Walker has been industrious and ingenious, he has not accumulated any great amount of new information, and what he has gathered does not alter our conception of Norris and his career. In spite of these handicaps, the book is useful within limits. What the reader chiefly regrets is that this first biography of Norris should fail to include a careful critical analysis of his work, or to set forth his many confusions, or to trace the origin of these confusions in his life.

SHOOT AND BE DAMNED! by Sergeant Ed. Halyburton and Ralph Goll. *New York: Covici-Friede. 452 pages. $2.50.*

The author was a Regular Army sergeant who went to France in 1917 with the vanguard of American troops. Captured in his first encounter, he spent the remainder of the war period in German prison camps; he deals at length with the terrible conditions there and the severe treatment prisoners received at the hands of their captors. Sergeant Halyburton, with a real gift for command and organization and a background of tough army life, tells of becoming the leader in the American sections. The book is a dramatized record of his efforts to maintain army discipline under the worst circumstances; to improve conditions through militant demands on the captors, and generally to build a tight, efficient little American world within spiked walls for a handful (later several hundreds) of Yankees. The treatment, naturally enough, is at once hard-boiled, romantic and unsearching.

About the Crisis

A PICTURE OF AMERICA: The Photostory of America—As It Is—And as It Might Be, by Charles Cross. *New York: Simon and Schuster. 79 pages. $1.50.*

During recent months thousands of pages of prose have dealt with the causes of capitalist chaos, its waste and the possibilities of socialist planning. Here are eighty pages of pictures with the same objective—but pictures which are carefully selected and juxtaposed to make the point that we foolishly live in a planless society. Text and statistics are carefully prepared. Needless to remark, the graphic method of presentation is more effective in respect of the illogicality of the present than in respect of a logically planned future.

THE ECONOMIC DILEMMA OF POLITICS, by Paul Douglass. *Introduction by Senator Royal Copeland. New York: The Europress Company. 44 pages. $1.*

Dr. Douglass states the problem of German war debts as "the economic dilemma of politics and the political dilemma of economics." This brief pamphlet covers the cost of the War, in terms of money and of human life, the economic and military strangula-

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tion of Germany after the Treaty of Versailles and the various solutions that have been attempted. There is also an attack on American misconceptions of international finance, as exemplified by Garet Garrett's articles in The Saturday Evening Post—articles which, Dr. Douglass points out, were reprinted and circulated by the Chemical Foundation. The pamphlet ends with a short statement of the extent of human suffering in Germany.

THE NORMAN RECONSTRUCTION PLAN, by Frederick Norman. *Paris: Privately printed. 62 pages. $1.*

A plan for saving capitalism, "respectfully submitted to the League of Nations and the World Economic Conference." Mr. Norman's plan includes international trade agreements, stabilization of commodity prices, government supervision of the standard of living, settling of uninhabited regions and control of the credit system. He sees Russia principally as a menace to the rest of the world, and offers higher wages as his solution to the problem of labor. "The more (within reason) a man is paid, the more he can consume, and therefore decent wages are the best for trade. In short, the fair treatment of everybody is the best guarantee for world peace."

Fiction

BEFORE THE CURTAIN FALLS, Anonymous. *Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.50.*

The title of this novel implies that the happenings described in it are taking place before the curtain comes down on society as we know it. It is a fictionized autobiography, with "composite" characters who are set up as representing varied social types, ranging from a liberal professor who is killed by the Ku-Klux Klan to an Englishman who is acting as a German spy. The author's own experiences were rich. The book touches on his college career, service overseas with the ambulance corps and the intelligence department, life in post-war Paris. He traveled through the Balkans with the Red Cross at the height of enthusiasm for America and Wilson; witnessed the early struggles of the Soviet government as a member of the American Relief Administration. The title of the novel is indicative of his attitude. He thinks of himself as a spectator and, while convinced of the approaching collapse of capitalism, takes no part in hastening the collapse or trying to prevent it.

Contributors

Lindsay Rogers, who is Burgess Professor of Public Law at Columbia University, has written several volumes on political and legal subjects and has contributed frequently to journals of political science.

Robert Littell, at one time literary editor of The New Republic and later dramatic critic and columnist for The New York World, is at present doing free-lance writing in New York City.

B. H. Haggin for some months delivered a weekly broadcast on the musical scene from the Socialist radio station WEVD. He lectures at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

R. L. Burgess, for nineteen years a newspaper man in California, is at present in New York City, contributing to various magazines.

Kenneth Burke, who has published three volumes—"White Oxen," a collection of short stories; "Towards a Better Life," a novel; and "Counter Statement," a treatise on esthetics—is at present "undertaking to translate a work of Shakespeare from the poetic medium in which it was written into a dialect of critical theory."

Mary Heaton Vorse, the well known novelist and labor journalist whose most recent novel, "Strike," was based on the labor troubles in Gastonia, Elizabethton and Marion, recently returned from Taylorville, the storm center of the Illinois coal strike.

H. M. Douty, who is working for his doctor's degree in Economics at the University of North Carolina, has been contributing to a monthly page of book reviews to The Railway Clerk, official journal of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, of which he was formerly a member.

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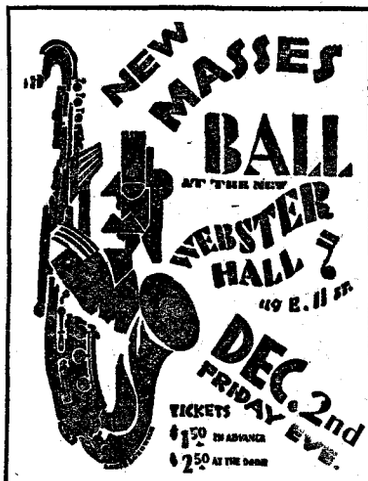

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